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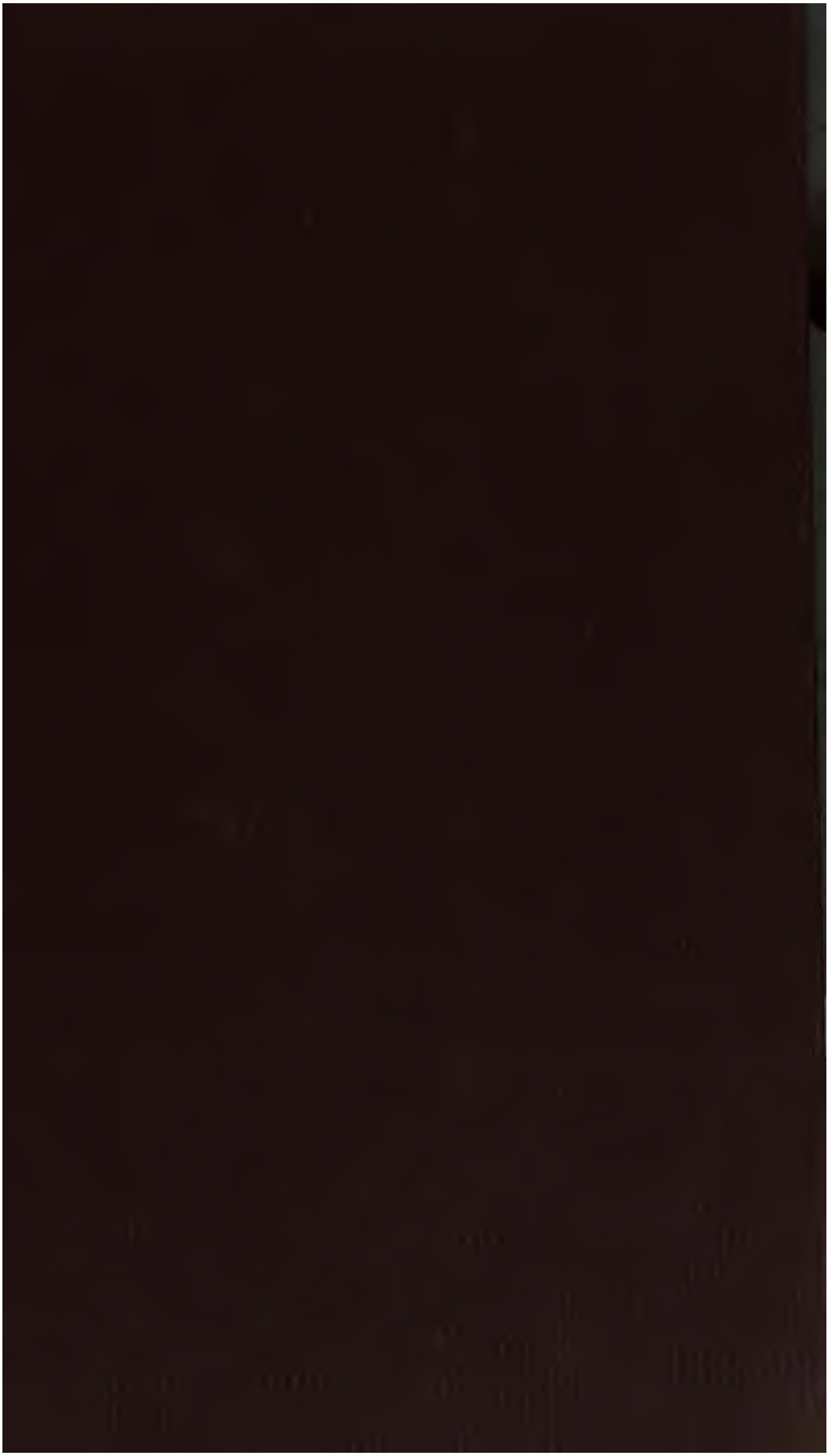

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NARRATIVE

OF THE

VOYAGES AND SERVICES

OF

THE NEMESIS.

NARRATIVE

OF THE

VOYAGES AND SERVICES

OF

THE NEMESIS,

FROM 1840 TO 1843;

AND OF THE COMBINED

NAVAL AND MILITARY OPERATIONS IN CHINA:

COMPRISING A COMPLETE ACCOUNT OF

THE COLONY OF HONG KONG,

AND REMARKS ON

THE CHARACTER AND HABITS OF THE CHINESE.

FROM NOTES OF

COMMANDER W. H. HALL, R. N.

WITH PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS,

BY

W. D. BERNARD, ESQ., A.M., OXON.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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VOYAGES AND SERVICES

OF

THE NEMESIS.

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The intense anxiety which took possession of every one's mind at Canton, on the evening of the expected attack upon our vessels by the Chinese, as described at the close of the last volume, has not by any means been

exaggerated. The very uncertainty of the plans of the Chinese served to increase the interest felt, and the extreme darkness of the night gave the greatest cause for apprehension of treachery.

During the early part of the evening complete stillness prevailed; nothing whatever betokened an immediate attack. It was about eleven o'clock when the alarm was given. One of the sentries of the Modeste, which was a little in advance of the other vessels,[1] first discovered several large dark-looking masses dropping down with the stream. Being hailed by the sentry, the Chinese who had charge of them immediately set fire to the combustible materials which they contained. The flames, bursting forth suddenly, spread the alarm, and pointed out the danger to the other vessels, while it was still remote. There was a general beat to quarters; steam was rapidly got up on board the Nemesis, the fires having been lighted early in the evening; the anchor was weighed, and, in the short space of NINE MINUTES from the time the alarm was given, the Nemesis was under weigh, and under command of the helm.

The premature discovery of the design, *before* it was actually commenced, disconcerted the plans of the Chinese, and caused them to set fire to the rafts sooner than had been intended. The derangement of a grand scheme at its outset embarrasses all the subsequent details, and is apt to discourage all those who are employed to carry them into execution. The moment they cease to act in concert, the failure of every part of the scheme is certain. Thus, on the present occasion, in consequence of

[1] Namely, the Pylades, Algerine, Nemesis, and Louisa cutter.

some of the fire-rafts being ignited too soon, the greater part of the rest were not ignited at all; so that, out of the immense number, about a hundred, which had been prepared, not above ten or a dozen were set on fire or sent down against our vessels at Canton. Some, however, were sent adrift against the Alligator, at anchor near Howqua's Fort.

These fire-rafts were ingeniously constructed to effect their object, being composed of boats chained together in twos and threes, so that, drifting down with the stream, they might hang across the bows of a ship, so as not to be easily got clear. They were filled with all kinds of combustible materials. Numerous junks and smaller boats were barely seen in the distance higher up the river, said to have a large body of troops on board, for the purpose of trying to board our ships during the confusion which it was expected would take place. But the moment they found that they were likely to meet with a warm reception, they did their best to get away again as fast as they could.

The Nemesis ran up at full speed towards the fire-rafts, in order to assist the boats of the squadron in towing them away.[1] Many of them, however, drifted fairly on shore, and set fire to the suburbs of the town, causing much greater alarm to the Chinese than they did to those whom they were designed to annihilate. It was a grand spectacle, in the sullen darkness of the night, to see these floating masses of fire drifting about the river, and showing by their own reflected light the

[1] Boats of the Calliope, Herald, Modeste, Pylades, and Algerine.

panic-stricken parties of Chinese who had charge of them, trying to escape towards the shore, which few of them were destined to reach. Some threw themselves overboard, were carried down the stream, and their struggles were soon ended; others were shot at random by our musketry, the moment they were discovered by our men, betrayed by the light of the fires they had themselves kindled.

So far the Chinese scheme proved a total failure. Nor was the attempt more successful upon the Alligator, off Howqua's Fort. The attack was to have been simultaneously made upon all our ships in different parts of the river, both at Whampoa and at the Bogue; but, owing to some error, or more probably the premature explosion of their plan at Canton, the attack on the Wellesley at the Bogue did not take place until nearly midnight of the 24th, three days afterwards. It was, however, well concerted, and very formidable, as it comprised a flotilla of little less than twenty vessels, chained in twos and threes; many of these had gunpowder as well as other combustibles on board. It was not without great exertion of Commander Fletcher and the few officers and men remaining on board (most of them being absent on service under Captain Maitland, with the advanced squadron) that they were towed clear of the ship, by the only three boats she had left. In no instance was any damage done to our ships.

But the plan of the Chinese was not limited to their exploits with fire-rafts. The new batteries before spoken of, as having been erected by Yihshan, just above Canton, towards the river side, opened a heavy

fire upon our ships just when it was imagined they would have been embarrassed by the fire-vessels. The artillery now began to roar on both sides, although, owing to the midnight darkness, it was solely directed by the flashing of each other's guns.

The Nemesis had now run so close in shore that she was able clearly to distinguish, by the light of the batteries and the reflection of the fire in the suburbs, the different Tartar officers rallying and encouraging their men to fight the guns. The two small vessels which lay off the factories (the Louisa and Aurora) were at one time in imminent danger, as the Chinese had actually brought down to the river side a very large gun, and planted it within good range, to blow them out of the water. They could not be moved until the tide turned; but, by alternately veering out cable and shortening it in again, so as to alter the range and balk the Chinese gunners during the darkness, they managed to escape with trifling damage. In the morning they were moved out of danger with the turn of tide. At intervals the firing was kept up until daylight.

All the secretly devised plans of the Chinese were now fairly disclosed and frustrated, and the chastisement which awaited them had been commenced; but it required the light of day to make their discomfiture complete, and anxiously was the dawn expected on both sides.

At length the sun rose brightly upon the scene of midnight encounter; and now the wrecks of the still burning fire-vessels, the crumbling batteries on shore, the suburbs of the town in flames, the deserted river,

and some trifling damages on board one or two of our own vessels, bore witness to what had happened.

The attack upon the Shameen battery was now renewed, and it was soon silenced by the fire of the vessels. A few shot and shell were thrown into the adjoining suburbs, where the fire had broken out; but some of the Chinese soldiers who had already abandoned their guns, when they found that our men did not land immediately to take possession of the works, actually returned and fired another round or two from the Shameen battery. They were soon, however, driven out, and eight fine large brass guns were captured.

It was during these operations at Canton that Captain Elliot and Captain Herbert narrowly escaped a very dangerous accident, which might have proved fatal to many, had it not been fortunately averted by the personal coolness and resolution of the captain of the Nemesis. A Congreve rocket, which had been placed in the proper tube from which it is fired, and had been already ignited, accidentally hung within it, instead of being projected, as intended. In another second it would have burst in the tube itself, and must have killed or wounded all those who were standing near it upon the bridge between the paddle-boxes. With instant coolness and presence of mind, Captain Hall put his arm into the tube and forcibly pushed it out from behind, although the rush of fire which came out of it burnt his hand severely and caused intense pain. Indeed it was not done without great personal risk. It is difficult to calculate what disastrous results might not have followed, had the rocket burst in the tube, on

board ship. It was long before the use of the wounded hand was recovered.

Just when all opposition at the Shameen battery had been overcome, an unlooked-for opportunity occurred of rendering signal service, by the discovery of the principal rendezvous of all the fire-rafts and men-of-war junks, whose place of retreat had hitherto been concealed. Every fresh report had confirmed the previous information that preparations of an extensive kind had been made by the Chinese higher up the river, but it was supposed to be at some place much more distant than was now found to be the case. The first thing which led to the discovery was the suspicious appearance of a large war-junk, which suddenly came out from behind a point of land some way above the fort. Having fired one or two distant shots, she again withdrew out of sight.

The Nemesis instantly proceeded in search of the expected prize, under the orders of Captain Herbert, who was on board. The junk again stole out from her hiding-place, but, the moment she observed the steamer coming towards her, she made off in all haste up a large creek, which turned round to the northward. About a mile or less within this passage, the whole Chinese fleet of war-junks, fire-rafts, boats, &c., was suddenly descried, to the number, probably, of more than a hundred.

This was an exciting moment. The Chinese were thrown into the utmost consternation by the sudden approach of the steamer; and the more numerous were the junks and craft of all kinds, the greater was the confusion into which they were thrown. The light draught of

water of the Nemesis gave her an immense advantage, as she could pursue them at full speed, without much risk of grounding. Every shot now told upon the confused mass. The Chinese ran most of their boats ashore, in order to make their own escape; others tried to make their way up the creek, each one striving to pass the other. Suddenly a small masked battery opened fire upon the steamer; but a few round shot, followed by grape, drove the Chinese from their guns, and served to disperse a small body of troops, who were drawn up in the rear. The water soon became too shallow for the steamer to proceed further, and she, therefore, came to anchor.

Some boats from the Calliope and Herald and other vessels now joined, and, together with the boats of the Nemesis, continued the pursuit, and destroyed or run ashore an immense number of junks, fire-rafts, and fishing-boats of every kind.

About fifty boats were found filled with combustibles, and were joined eight or nine together, having been destined to drift down with the tide upon our vessels. Many of the junks had troops on board, from distant parts of the empire, intended for the relief of the city.

The scene was extremely animating; numbers of the Chinese were scrambling ashore, or clinging to fragments of their boats or spars, as they floated about in the water. Some of the junks were burnt, and others blown up, but the precaution was taken to examine carefully every one of them before it was set on fire, in order to rescue any of the panic-stricken Chinese who might be trying to find concealment in it. But, in

spite of this precaution, the structure of the junks afforded so many little hiding-places for the terrified Chinese, that, as the fires gradually burnt more briskly, and took more certain effect upon the vessels, several poor fellows were observed to rush up from below, and, then unable to support the heat upon deck, to jump desperately overboard. Some of these swam easily on shore; others, who could not swim, remained clinging to the outside of the junk or to the rudder, until the heat became insupportable, or the vessel itself blew up. In this way, some few necessarily perished, for it was not possible to save them all, owing to the small number of boats employed on our side, and the large number of those destroyed on theirs; besides which, the heat and danger were often too great to be able to approach near enough to render timely assistance. Nevertheless, the loss of life among the Chinese, considering their numbers, was inconsiderable, as the nearness of the shore permitted most of them easily to escape.

Thus, in the short space of three hours, forty-three war-junks were blown up, and thirty-two fire-rafts destroyed, besides smaller boats. Some which had been run ashore were left untouched.

This important encounter produced one very valuable result, as it led to the discovery of the most desirable landing-place for our troops, in the projected attack on the heights of Canton. This spot was distinctly seen and remarked upon by the different officers on board the Nemesis, and was particularly noticed by Captain Herbert, in his report of this affair to Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, written on the very same day. This is not a

matter of slight moment, because all allusion to this circumstance was omitted in the public despatch of Sir Le Fleming Senhouse. In Captain Herbert's report, dated on the 22nd of May, on board the Nemesis, that officer, after having described the destruction of the numerous boats and fire-rafts, distinctly said: — "their wrecks are lining both banks of the river nearly close up to Tsingpoo, *the landing-place*, from which a good approach appears to lead direct to the north gate of the city wall, not more than four miles distant, with *dry footing* the whole way." He also intimated that artillery might probably be brought there. Moreover, while Captain Hall was lying in bed with pain and fever from his disabled hand, the general himself and other officers subsequently came down into his cabin, purposely to make inquiry concerning the landing-place and the country about it, such as it had been seen from the Nemesis.

On the following day, the 23rd, the Sulphur, under Captain Belcher, having with him the Druid's Launch, and several other boats, proceeded into the same creek, in which Captain Herbert had found the landing-place the day before, and destroyed one or two junks and rafts which had been left the previous day, and some others which had returned after their first escape. Five junks and thirteen small boats were destroyed. The practicable landing-place at Tsingpoo was also reported on by that officer, and he added that he got himself hoisted up to the mast-head of a junk, sextant in hand, to get a look at the country, and observed the enemy encamped on the verge of a hill, but that he "*had not*

the slightest doubt that they would have fled, had he advanced towards the hill." As it was, however, he was content with landing at the temple at Tsingpoo, and, throwing into the river the five guns of the little masked battery which had opened on the Nemesis the day before, and had been silenced by her fire, but which Captain Herbert had not thought it worth his while to destroy, as the war-junks and fire-rafts claimed his more immediate attention.

Captain Belcher hastened down to the Blenheim the same evening, and reported what he had done to Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, " who," he says, (see voyage of the Sulphur, p. 184 to 187) " had been sitting up for him, and *seemed delighted beyond measure at what he heard.*"

To return to the Nemesis, as she came back towards the factories, from the scene of her exploits at Tsingpoo on the previous day. The remarks of a gentleman who was at Canton at the time are curious enough. Speaking of what occurred, he says: — " From time to time loud explosions were heard in that direction [Tsingpoo]; dense volumes of smoke rose up continually, both black and white, and announced some terrible work of destruction. After some time a general cheer burst forth from all those who were near me, as the Nemesis came in sight, just rounding the corner on her return, towing several boats after her towards the Macao passage. It was an interesting and even ludicrous sight, as she approached, to observe the boats, as well as the vessel itself, decked out with Chinese flags, the men exhibiting their trophies with evident pride, some rigged out in every variety of Chinese dress, from mandarins down-

wards; some with Chinese caps, and others with Chinese tails, with which a whole boat's crew were decorated. It appears that, when they took prisoners, they merely cut off their tails, (a mark of deep disgrace to a Chinaman) and let them go again about their business." But the novelty of the thing was highly amusing to our Jack Tars, and the idea of wearing a tail a yard and a half long seemed quite as preposterous, and, of course, as ridiculous, as if they did not know that tails were once worn by our own countrymen, and even cherished with a vast deal of self-satisfied care by our own sailors and soldiers, though not quite of the true Chinese length.

But the day was by no means ended yet; and, indeed, the business had commenced so early (at dawn) that even at this time it was little more than eight o'clock. And now comes a scene of a very different kind. I have before stated, that the guard of marines had been withdrawn from the factory, and the flag struck on the previous day. A vast quantity of property had already been removed, but much still remained, of considerable value, and much more was supposed to be left behind of still greater importance. All this became an object of longing to the mob, to say nothing of any natural feeling of hostility, which was ready to vent itself upon something or other. Pillage now became the order of the day. It is said even that a party of Chinese soldiers were first sent down *expressly* to search for arms. Of these they found none; but there were still enough of other things to tempt their avarice. They had certainly the first choice of the booty, although the general mob

speedily joined in the general ransack. Several of the officers, or low mandarins, were seen to be quite as busy as the rest of the people, some even carrying away plunder upon their horses, and others who had none sending for them on purpose.

Readers who can picture to themselves the long, gloomy labyrinths of passages, and alleys, and staircases, which are comprised within the piles of buildings called the factories, can well imagine the terrible scene of riot, destruction, and pillage which was going on; yet probably not worse than would have been committed by an English mob under similar circumstances; as Bristol, Birmingham, and other places can testify. There was a reckless destruction of property which could not be removed, even after every article of furniture as well as merchandize had been carried away. Doors and windows were soon disposed of, and the very staircases and stone floorings broken up and destroyed.

In the Old Company's or British Factory, the confusion was most terrible, because in it there remained a greater number of valuable objects to destroy. The beautiful chandeliers and fine looking-glasses were soon annihilated and carried off piecemeal; and the noble large marble statue which stood in the great hall served as an object of especial vengeance, as if it contained within itself the very germs or symbols of all the barbarian nations of the earth, and could communicate to them a portion of the insults now heaped upon it as it lay prostrate in the hall.

During the whole day, the same mad scene of destruction was continued; and whatever still defied the hands

of the infuriate mob was at length made to yield to the consuming power of fire. Not all the thirteen Hongs, however, were visited with this terrible pillage; many of them escaped altogether; which is somewhat remarkable; but all those situated between the limits of Hog Lane and a small creek which runs into the river at the other end were entirely destroyed, except the bare walls. Within this space were included the British, together with the Dutch and the Creek Factories, a very fine and extensive range of handsome buildings.

Towards the close of the day, when the work of destruction was nearly completed, down came, at length, the Prefect of the City in person, attended by a large party of police. He now succeeded in driving away the main body of the mob, and then gave charge of the factories to the Hong merchants, to whom all the buildings belonged, and who took possession of the little that remained, with the assistance of a number of their own hired labourers armed for the occasion.

The account given of this day's proceedings by a highly respectable American merchant, who imprudently remained behind the night before, is extremely valuable. Without going into minute details, it will suffice to mention that Mr. Coolidge was taken prisoner, after being in great danger of being cut down, and was with many insults carried into the heart of the city. As he was marched along, he passed several bodies of soldiers and coolies, or day-labourers, hurrying down towards the factories, and dragging guns along with them. As soon as he came near the head-quarters of the Tartar general, the crowd and movement increased; officers of

every grade, grooms and messengers on horseback hurrying to and fro, executioners and city-guards, together with strange troops from distant provinces, in every variety of costume—these were all huddled together, and jostled in the greatest bustle and confusion.

After some delay, he was carried, with every possible insult, before the criminal judge, and there, to his horror, he discovered several of his countrymen, who had been wounded and captured as they were trying to escape in a boat down the river. The sufferings and indignities they now underwent were extreme; nor did their assertion that they were Americans prove of much service to them, for they were told that, in that case, they "*ought to speak a different language, and wear a different dress.*"

It is very certain, however, that the Chinese generally at Canton know perfectly well the difference between an American and an Englishman, politically. But, on the other hand, when an Englishman gets into trouble there, he most commonly declares himself to be an American; and how could the Chinese prove that he is not so? But the national distinction is perfectly well defined, even in their own language, as is commonly known; the Americans being called the "people of the flowery flag," from the number of stars on it, while the English were known as the "red people," or "red-haired people," an appellation originally applied to the Dutch traders.

The American prisoners remained in the condition I have described, exposed to every possible suffering in the common prison, for nearly two days, when they were at length turned out, and carried in chairs to the ruined

factories, where they were *planted* among the ruins, just as if they had been portions of the marble statue which had been destroyed.

It was just at this time that our troops landed, namely, the Cameronians, under Major Pratt (as will be presently seen), and, of course, every attention was paid to the unhappy sufferers; and, as Mr. Coolidge observes, "I cannot tell you with what feelings of good-will we looked upon every one of those redcoats."

To return, however, to the Nemesis. Soon after mid-day, while the work of destruction was going on at the factories, she was ordered to convey Captain Elliot and Captain Herbert with all speed down to Whampoa, in order to make arrangements for the hasty advance of the whole force, which was nearly all there assembled, not far from Whampoa. Captain Elliot, however, could not forego the pleasure of giving a parting proclamation to the Chinese, even then. He told the people of Canton "that their city had twice been *spared*, but that his agreement with the three Commissioners had now been violated by them, by the arming of their forts, and by their secret preparations to attack the English, who were *the real protectors of the city*." He called upon them "to remember the hour of battle, and to consider whether the troops of the other provinces now among them were not the real scourges of the inhabitants;" and, after a little more in the same compassionate strain, he wound up by calling upon them "to *turn out the Commissioners and their troops* from the city *within twelve hours*, otherwise that the English would be obliged to withdraw their *protection* from the city, and take military posses-

sion of it, confiscating all the property to the Queen of England."

This must have sounded highly gratifying to the Chinese; quite in the oriental style; and it was exceedingly probable that the mob of Canton would have the power, even had they the will, to turn out about twenty thousand troops, together with the high authorities, all in the twinkling of an eye, by a sort of talismanic "Open sesame."

At Whampoa, a conference was held with the senior naval officer, Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, and the general, concerning the immediate steps to be taken; and, before dark the same evening, the Nemesis again rejoined the advanced squadron near Canton, in the Macao passage.

The storm was now gathering thicker and thicker every hour; our forces were all by this time concentrated within a few short miles of the city; delay was no longer possible; and the moment appeared inevitably come, though long delayed, when the Chinese authorities must yield to force, where "reason" and negociation had been tried in vain, and written instruments had failed.

CHAPTER XXII.

Canton and its neighbourhood—City walls—Palaces of the Mandarins—Forts upon the heights—Preparations for the advance of our troops from Whampoa—Important general order—Browne's passage, or the main branch of the Canton river—Chinese boats collected to convey the troops—Chinese trade stopped—Departure—Flotilla towed by Nemesis—Right column lands at the factories—Left column towed up to Tsingpoo—Importance of iron steamers—Advantage in landing troops—Reconnoissance by Sir Hugh Gough—False alarm—Naval operations on the 24th, 25th, and 26th May, before Canton—Shameen Fort attacked—Narrow escape of Captain Herbert and Captain Bethune—Arsenal captured—French Fort and other works stormed.

A few remarks upon the city and neighbourhood of Canton, before which our troops are now for the first time about to appear, (the previous operations of the 18th March having been entirely limited to the naval forces) will contribute to the interest of the subsequent narrative. The city of Canton, or Kwantung, is situated upon the northern bank of the river usually known by the same name, though sometimes called by Europeans the Pearl river, from its Chinese name, Choo-keang. Its distance from the Bogue is about forty miles.

The scenery around the city is extremely diversified. On the northern and north-eastern sides it is commanded by hills, the possession of which by an enemy

must of necessity place the city at his mercy. In other directions it presents the aspect of a low and abundantly-watered plain, cut up by canals and little rivers, which serve both for irrigation and for communication with the interior. So numerous are they, that in some parts nearly a third part of the whole surface is occupied by water. The appearance of the country is rich, and at most seasons beautifully green, being divided into rice-fields and little gardens, with here and there a clump of trees or a small village, or the country residences of some of the wealthier inhabitants of the city, to diversify the prospect.

About three or four miles to the westward of the city, and curving round at the foot of the hills which command it, runs the creek or river in which the war-junks and fire-rafts had been destroyed by the Nemesis and boats. The excellent landing-place at Tsingpoo, which had been discovered on that occasion, was very conveniently situated for the debarkation of troops destined to attack the heights above the city, which are in fact the key to its occupation.

The city and its suburbs occupy the whole space between the hills and the river; the suburbs, however, being little less extensive than the city itself. The latter is surrounded by a high wall, which has twelve entrances, and it may be about six or seven miles in circumference. On the south, or river side, a portion of the suburbs extends down to the water-side; and in the western corner of these are situated the foreign factories, and the principal packhouses of the Hong merchants, which are partly built on piles on the river's

bank. On the northern side, the wall rests directly upon the brow of the hills; and, indeed, there is a hill of moderate elevation actually within the walls, the possession of which would in fact give the command of the entire city, and which could have been held by a small force against any troops the Chinese could bring against it. Another wall divides the city into two unequal parts, running from east to west, and called the Old and the New City, the latter being much more modern than the former, but differing from it very little in appearance. The residences of all the high officers, the Viceroy, Lieutenant-Governor, Tartar General, and others, together with a public arsenal, are situated in the Old City; but the moment we got possession of the two forts, called the Dutch and French Follies, we could command the whole of these places, without in any degree endangering the factories, which are at a considerable distance to the westward in the suburbs.

It is unnecessary to say any thing concerning the interior of the city, which is believed to contain nothing very remarkable, except two fine pagodas. The streets, as usual, are extremely narrow, being mere lanes or alleys; and those in the suburbs are in most respects superior in appearance and cleanliness to those within the actual city. As Canton lies just within the tropic, it is subject to great heat in summer; while, on the other hand, the cold blasts which come from the high ranges of mountains in northern Asia are severely felt in winter.

The heights above the city were crowned with four strong forts, built principally of brick at the upper part,

but of stone below. They mounted altogether forty-two guns of various calibre, together with a great number of ginjals and wall-pieces. Between them and the city walls, the distance of which varied from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty paces, there was an irregular and in some parts deep and broken ravine. The hill before described as *within* the circuit of the walls was also within range of the heights; and so important was this position afterwards considered by Sir Hugh Gough, that he distinctly declared that, with "this in his possession, he would have been responsible that the city should have been spared, and that not a soldier should have entered the town farther than this fortified height."

With these few preliminary observations, we may now return to the point at which our combined naval and military forces were all concentrated, below Whampoa, on the 22d and 23d March, having sailed from Hong Kong on the 18th and 19th of that month.

An important general order was now issued by Sir Hugh Gough, preparatory to the advance of our troops upon Canton. It betokened the true feeling which animated the expedition; and, while it goes far to refute the belief that wanton cruelty was inflicted upon the Chinese, it does honour to the expedition, as primâ facie evidence of the forbearance with which our power was exercised. After first alluding to the novelty of the Chinese system of warfare to the British soldier, as one making up in cunning and artifice what it lacks in discipline, and, after recommending extreme caution against surprise and stratagem, and, above all, the ob-

servance of the strictest discipline, Sir Hugh Gough proceeds to remind his soldiers that "Great Britain had gained as much of fame by her clemency and forbearance as by the gallantry of her troops. An enemy in arms is always a legitimate foe; but the unarmed, or the supplicant for mercy, of whatever country or whatever colour, a true British soldier will always spare." Such was in reality the feeling which animated the whole expedition; although the desultory attacks of the Chinese, and the refusal of many of them to surrender when all further resistance was useless, sometimes occasioned a loss of life which was to be deplored, but which could not be prevented.

The channel through which our forces were now about to advance upon Canton was one which had been not long before examined for the first time, one may even say discovered, by Mr. Browne, the master of the Calliope, Lieutenant Kellett, of the Starling, Mr. Johnson, the master of the Conway, and other officers. It came to be called Browne's Passage, although Mr. Browne himself called it the "main branch of the Canton river." It runs to the southward of French Island, towards the Macao passage, and is a much more important branch of the river than that which runs along the northern side of that island, which was first explored in the Nemesis by Captain Herbert and Captain Elliot, and along which our vessels had proceeded to the attack of the Macao Fort, as before described. A glance at the accompanying map will suffice to render intelligible the course of all the branches of the river in the neighbourhood of Canton.

In Captain Herbert's report to Sir Gordon Bremer,

in the middle of March, referring to some of these passages, he stated that "boats from the Calliope, Herald, Hyacinth, Sulphur, and Starling, had on several occasions explored the channels in the south branch of the river, from Danes' Island upwards, and that they had found a safe and deep passage for vessels drawing sixteen feet water up to the city of Canton, except two bars, which it required high water to pass." Mr. Browne and Lieutenant Kellett, with the boats, had proceeded along the channel between Danes' and French Islands, and then entered the passage, which runs along the southern side of the latter.

The Chinese had commenced preparations for the defence of these channels at several points; there was a battery of ten guns, another of fourteen, and one of four guns, in the passage between the two islands, or French river, which was too small for ships to pass through it. Other batteries were also found in the so-called Browne's Passage, one of which was calculated to mount thirty-seven guns. Indeed, in all the branches of the river, batteries were found, some partially, some completely, finished. At one of these, a little above the last mentioned, there were not less than forty guns ready for mounting, newly cast, and with quite new carriages. But the Chinese offered no resistance; and, on one occasion, Lieutenant Kellett invited the mandarin in charge of one of these forts to come and breakfast with him, presuming that he had more appetite for food than for fighting.

Mr. Browne and Mr. Johnson made a good rough survey of the whole of this important channel, in which there was found to be depth of water sufficient for our

largest transports, to the distance of about ten miles. Even a line-of-battle ship, the Blenheim, was carried up nearly as far as the transports; and hence the beginning of the passage along the southern bank of Danes' Island obtained the name of the Blenheim Reach. It is here that our largest merchant ships have since usually anchored.

The 23rd of May was occupied, as might be expected, in completing the necessary preparations for the conveyance of our troops, marines, small-arm men, and camp-followers, up to the city of Canton. It was the general wish of the officers of the expedition that the attack should take place on her Majesty's birthday, in order that a salute might be fired in honour of the occasion from the heights of Canton, and that the roar of our artillery should announce the success of our arms, and the avenging of our honour, while it celebrated our loyalty, and the love of our country. Captain Herbert even assured Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, in a letter dated the 22nd, that "he had no reason to doubt that, if the general should think fit, our forces could be in possession of the city the day after to-morrow, that is, on the Queen's birthday, the 24th." This, however, was found to be impracticable, owing to the great difficulty experienced in collecting boats enough to convey the whole force up to the city; and it was not until noon of the 24th that our forces could commence their advance.

In the mean time, Captain Belcher had been directed to collect as many Chinese boats as possible higher up the river, and to send them down with the tide. Gradually they had been dropping down from the direction of the city, until, at length, there were enough collected

for the conveyance of two thousand men, besides camp followers, stores, and materiel of all kinds. At the same time, with a view to embarrass the Chinese as much as possible, orders had been given that all the native trading-boats should be detained; that none of them should on any account be permitted to go down the river, under any pretence whatever; and, above all, that all the salt-junks should be stopped. In the course of a few days, no less than one hundred and forty-one trading-junks, of every description, were brought-to, and detained in the neighbourhood of Napier's Fort, and at the Naval Arsenal below the city; they comprised little less than ten thousand tons of shipping, manned by about one thousand one hundred Chinese sailors. The sudden stoppage of this considerable trade could not fail to make a deep impression upon the whole people of Canton. No injury, however, was done to any of the trading-vessels, which were all suffered to depart without further molestation, the moment the authorities of the city had agreed to Captain Elliot's terms.

Before our troops finally advanced upon Canton, Sir Hugh Gough and Sir Le Fleming Senhouse went up in person to make a careful reconnoissance, and particularly with a view to assure themselves of the practicability of the landing-place at Tsingpoo.

At length, soon after noon on the 24th, every preparation for the advance was completed. Such a curious collection of boats was perhaps never before seen, from the tea or cargo-boat, which traverses the rivers to the interior of the country, to the more humble fishing-boat, which plies in the neighbourhood of Canton. Many of

them were curious specimens of boat-building, but they answered extremely well for the purpose required.

The troops were all embarked in two columns, of which the right was destined to hold the factories, and was taken up in the Atalanta steamer. It merely consisted of the 26th Cameronians, less than three hundred strong, together with an officer and twenty men of the Madras Artillery, with one six-pounder gun, and one five and a half-inch mortar. Thirty sappers, with an officer of engineers, were also attached to it; it was under the command of Major Pratt, of the 26th regiment. The left column comprised the main body of the force, which was destined to carry the heights above the city, being divided into four brigades. An account of these will be given in its proper place.

To the Nemesis was entrusted the charge and the honour of carrying or towing up the whole of this column, together with the camp-followers and attendants of every description, (in this instance reduced to the smallest possible number) which always accompany our troops in the east. The enormous flotilla of boats, including, of course, those belonging to the men-of-war, necessarily retarded the progress of the steamer very much, particularly in the more intricate parts of the river. As she advanced, numerous boats from our ships were picked up, until their number could not have been less than from seventy to eighty; hanging on behind each other, and following in the wake of the long, low steamer. It was altogether a very animating scene. The numerous flags, the curious appearance of the boats, the glitter of the arms and accoutrements, and

the various uniforms of the men, could not fail of producing a very exciting spectacle. There was not the slightest confusion; and, the hope of being soon masters of the City of Canton, added to other circumstances, rendered the expedition intensely interesting.

On board the Nemesis were the forty-ninth regiment; together with Major-General Sir Hugh Gough and his staff, Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, and Captain Elliot, accompanied by Mr. Morrison. Captain Bourchier, who was to have the honour of commanding the naval brigade, and several other officers, were also on board. The decks of the steamer were crowded. Slowly and steadily she advanced, dragging after her the long tail of boats, a more numerous flotilla than any steamer had yet towed.

The Chinese must have been perfectly well informed of the approach of the force; and, had they not been already panic-struck by the lessons they had so recently received, they might have occasioned great annoyance, and perhaps loss, to our troops, exposed as they were in boats, by firing on them from the banks of the river, in places where they would have been themselves under cover. No opposition of any kind, however, was offered.

In the mean time, the Atalanta reached her destination at the factories more expeditiously, and the right column was landed before five o'clock, without opposition; when Major Pratt immediately set about strengthening his post, and making the necessary dispositions, either for defensive or offensive operations, as circumstances might require.

It was now that the unfortunate Americans were dis-

covered, in the wretched plight before described, in the midst of the ruins of the factories in which they had been turned loose, as it were, like beasts, after the indignities they had suffered.

It was just dusk when the left column, towed by the Nemesis, reached the destined point of debarkation at Tsingpoo, where the Sulphur was already at anchor. By this time it was too late in the day to do more than land the forty-ninth regiment. This was easily effected, as they could walk on shore directly out of the steamer, without the necessity of using boats, or causing any delay whatever. Here again, as in so many other instances, the advantage of this description of steamer was clearly shown. She had a great deal of *deck-room* for troops; while she could run closer in shore than other vessels, because she drew so little water. Indeed, Captain Hall never hesitated, when the service would probably be forwarded by it, to run the bows of the ship on shore at full speed, wherever there was a soft bottom, merely dropping a kedge or small anchor astern, to assist to work her off again. In this way, troops were sometimes made to walk on shore in shallow water, when otherwise great delay would have been caused by having to wait for boats. More commonly, however, a long stage or platform, made for the purpose, was run out from the bows of the vessel, for the men to land. In this manner as many as a thousand men have sometimes been landed very rapidly, when no boats could have been procured, or not without delay and difficulty.

During the rest of the evening of the 24th, and in the night, the guns, ammunition, and stores were also

landed, but the remainder of the force did not disembark until the following morning. As soon as the forty-ninth were landed, they took possession of a large temple, or, so called, Joss-house, near the landing-place. The general lost no time in making an extended reconnoissance as soon as he had landed, under an escort of the forty-ninth. A few straggling parties of the enemy were met with, who occasionally fired a random shot, sufficient to point out that they were at hand, and ready to cut off any unlucky straggler; but no serious opposition was met with.

From a rising ground at no great distance, a general view of the enemy's positions could be gained. It was now evident that they had already taken the alarm, and they threw up some of their small harmless rockets by way of signal, to show that they were on the alert, but made no movement in advance. Sir Hugh Gough was in reality at this time perfectly unacquainted with the nature of the country he would have to pass over on the following day, as well as of the difficulties he might have to encounter; but, with the utmost confidence in the steadiness and perfect discipline of the little force under his command, he felt assured that no difficulties could check them. Neither could the amount of the enemy's force be at all ascertained, respecting which there were various conjectures, probably in most instances exaggerated.

The Chinese system of warfare had not yet been experienced, and it was, in fact, the first time that European troops were about to undertake operations in China, beyond the cover of our ships. The Chinese had

been known to declare that, if they could get us away from our ships, they had full confidence that they would be able to beat us in fair fight ashore. They were now soon to have an opportunity of putting their prowess to the test. It was now the first occasion on which a British general officer had commanded in China; and it was the first opportunity which that general had ever had of witnessing the gallantry of British seamen and marines in service on shore, and of bearing testimony to their steadiness and discipline, and to the value of their co-operation. He afterwards expressed himself in general orders, in reference to the naval brigade under Captain Bourchier, to the effect "that it would always be a matter of proud recollection to him that he had had them under his orders."

During the night there was a false alarm of a threatened attack by the Chinese upon the temple; but, if ever intended, no attempt of the kind was made. Our soldiers again lay down to take a soldier's rest, the half-waking slumber of a wary foe.

While our troops had thus advanced upon Canton on the 24th, Captain Herbert, who was stationed at Whampoa with the Calliope, Conway, Herald, and Alligator, was directed to push up the river with the flood-tide, with such vessels as could proceed, or with the boats of the ships, by the direct, or Whampoa passage, and endeavour to secure the naval Arsenal opposite the city. It was left to his own judgment to attack the French fort below the city, or not, according to circumstances.

At the same time, another part of our force, consisting of the Hyacinth, Modeste, Cruiser, and Columbine, had

taken up a position near the factories, under Captain Warren, who had been directed to secure the Dutch Fort, and to use his own judgment as to an attack upon any other of the defences which were known to have been recently constructed. The possession of the Dutch and French Forts would give us complete command of the river front of the city, and of the palaces of the high authorities.

Captain Herbert lost no time in pushing up the river, with the boats and marines of the ships before mentioned; while Captain Warren, having ordered the Nimrod and Pylades to attack the Shameen Fort, (which had been re-armed by the Chinese) proceeded to place the Hyacinth, under his own command, abreast of the factories, in order to cover the landing of the twenty-sixth regiment from the Atalanta.

In the mean time, the Modeste, Cruiser, and Columbine, took up a position to attack the Dutch Folly if necessary; but it was found to be unarmed.

As soon as the twenty-sixth regiment had landed at the factory, the Atalanta and Algerine (which had now joined the squadron) were ordered to move down the river as far as possible. The Atalanta unfortunately took the ground, where she remained for several days, and was got off with difficulty. The Algerine, drawing but little water, was able to go over the reef, which is abreast of the Dutch fort, with a strong ebb-tide. She then took up her berth between the Dutch and French follies, and only one hundred and fifty yards distant from a heavy sand battery, which she engaged single-handed, none of the other vessels being able to come up to her support. The battery mounted eleven very heavy guns,

and the Algerine was frequently hit. The pinnaces of the Hyacinth and Modeste were sent to help to shift her berth, but this was impossible, owing to the strength of the tide. Lieutenant Mason, who commanded the brig, with instant determination now pushed off in his gig, and, accompanied by the two pinnaces, dashed ashore and carried the battery with great gallantry, but not without meeting with strong resistance, in which Mr. Fitzgerald, of the Modeste, fell mortally wounded, together with one seaman killed, and fourteen seamen and marines wounded. Some of the Chinese guns were ten and a half inch. Captain Herbert and Captain Bethune endeavoured to push up from Howqua's Folly at sunset, but were stopped by a shot from the French Folly, which went through Captain Herbert's boat, and the heaviness of the fire compelled the boats to take shelter under a point of land for some hours, so that they were not able to reach the brig until two o'clock, a.m. During the night several fire-rafts were sent adrift, but were towed clear without doing any mischief. Thus ended the 24th of May, and our forces, both naval and military, might already be said to hold Canton at their mercy.

A few words more will suffice to complete the description of all the naval operations before Canton, before we turn to the military part of them.

No time was lost on the following morning in securing the Arsenal, in which were found nearly a dozen large war-junks upon the stocks, and a great many row boats. There were also twelve large war-junks just finished, lying at anchor off the Arsenal. A considerable quantity of timber and stores of various kinds were also captured. The Chinese

had spared neither pains nor expense in the first attack of our squadron in March, to make every preparation in their power for the more effectual defence of the city.

Having made a reconnoissance of the French Fort, and the other defences on that side, Captain Herbert resolved to carry it without loss of time. The Modeste was the only vessel except the Algerine which could be got across the bar at the Dutch Folly, and that not without great difficulty, having been warped over the reef at high water. The Atalanta was still aground; and the guns of the Algerine not being sufficiently heavy, Captain Herbert ordered shell-guns to be fitted in three of the captured war-junks, to assist in the attack upon the French Folly.

The gun-junks were placed under the direction of Lieutenants Haskell and Hay, and, together with the Modeste and Algerine, opened upon the French Fort and the long line of works connected with it on the morning of the 26th. The Chinese soon began to give way, and Captain Bethune immediately landed with the storming party, and gallantly carried the works. There were altogether sixty-four guns, some of large calibre, four being ten and a half inch guns. Thus the whole of the river defences of Canton were at length in our possession, at the same time that the heights above the city had been carried by our troops under Sir Hugh Gough.

Having thus anticipated a little, in order to give a short connected outline of the operations of our squadron in front of the city, we may return to the landing-place at Tsingpoo, from which our troops were about to advance upon the heights on the 25th of May.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Engagements upon the heights of Canton — Number of men engaged— Description of the forts—Dispositions for the attack—Chinese threaten Tsingpoo—Defeated by a party led by Captain Hall—Forts captured on the heights — Entrenched camp burned — Morning of the 26th of May — Critical moment — Flag of truce displayed, and terms proposed by the Chinese—Preparations for the assault — Truce concluded —Disappointment—Tartar troops leave the city—Demonstrations by the armed peasants—Tremendous storm — Critical position of the sepoys—Their rescue — Preparations to restore the forts — Our troops re-embark on the 1st of June—Observations on the truce—The ransom-money a droit of the crown—Opinion of Vatel.

A detailed account of the military operations upon the heights of Canton could be furnished only by a military man, himself an eye-witness of what took place immediately around him. The following concise description, however, taken from the personal remarks of several who were present, and from public documents, will suffice to keep up the interest of the reader in the connected account of our operations in China.

It will be remembered that the twenty-sixth regiment, together with a few of the Madras artillery, and

sappers and miners, were posted at the factories, and, therefore, took no part in the engagement on the heights on the 25th, although they joined the head-quarters afterwards. The whole force actually engaged on that day, under Sir Hugh Gough, including the marines and the naval brigade, amounted to very nearly two thousand four hundred men. But the actual number of bayonets in the field was only about one thousand five hundred. The artillery comprised a body of four hundred men, with four 12-pounder howitzers, four 9-pounder field-guns, and two 6-pounder guns; also three five and a half inch mortars, and one hundred and fifty-two 32-pounder rockets.

The naval brigade, commanded by Captain Bourchier, comprised four hundred and three small-arm men; so that, when added to the marines, it is evident that full one-third of the force employed on the heights was supplied by the different ships of the squadron, viz., eight hundred and eleven men. In proportion as these were withdrawn from their respective ships, the duty to be performed by those who remained on board became the more severe.

Sir Le Fleming Senhouse entrusted the command of the naval brigade to Captain Bourchier, as it was the express wish of Sir Hugh Gough that the senior naval officer should join his staff, and remain at his side throughout the day, instead of leading the brigade in person. It was divided into two battalions, one led by Captain Maitland of the Wellesley, and the other by Commander Barlow of the Nimrod. The whole force was divided into four brigades, and was directed to

move left in front. The details given below will render further comment unnecessary.[1]

At daylight on the morning of the 25th the whole of the troops were landed. The Nemesis, Sulphur, and Starling remained at anchor close to Tsingpoo; and small detachments of the 18th and 49th regiments, and of the 37th M. N. I., amounting altogether to between seventy and eighty men, were left posted at the Temple before described, in order to secure the landing, and

[1] FIELD LIST OF TROOPS ENGAGED ON THE HEIGHTS ABOVE CANTON ON THE 25TH OF MAY, 1841.

	Officers.	All other ranks.
Left Brigade, under Lieutenant Colonel Morris.		
H. M. 49th Regiment, commanded by Major Stephens .	28	273
37th Madras Native Infantry, Captain Duff . European 11, Native . . 4	15	215
Company of Bengal Volunteers, Captain Mee . European 2, Native . . 2	4	112
	47	600
Third, or Artillery Brigade, under Captain Knowles, R. A.		
Royal Artillery, commanded by Lieutenant Spencer .	2	33
Madras Artillery, commanded by Captain Anstruther .	10	231
Sappers and Miners, commanded by Captain Cotton .	4	137
	16	401
Second, or Naval Brigade, under Captain Bourchier.		
1st Battalion, Captain Maitland ..... 11 2nd Battalion, Commander Barlow 16	27	172 / 231 } 403
	27	403
First (right) Brigade, under Major General Burrell.		
18th Royal Irish, Lieutenant Colonel Adams	25	495
Royal Marines, Captain Ellis	9	372
	34	867
Total, Officers.....	124	
——, Other ranks....	.....	2271.
Grand total.....	2,395.	

N. B. It is to be remarked that the company of Bengal Volunteers, comprising one hundred and twelve men, had only two European officers.

prevent any attempt at surprise on the part of the Chinese. This precaution afterwards proved to have been very judicious.

From a hill, a little above the landing-place, a good view of the enemy's positions could be obtained; and, a little beyond that, a line of hills led directly up towards the rear of the forts above the city, at the distance of between three and four miles. The ground was irregular and much broken by hollows, partially cultivated and laid out in rice-grounds. The labour of dragging the guns was therefore very great; and, indeed, two of the twelve-pounder howitzers and two of the nine-pounder guns were not got into position upon the heights until the following day. The other two, however, and also the six-pounders, together with the rocket-battery, were brought up with the troops, with some labour and difficulty.

Of the four forts, two were situated not far from each other, near the north-western angle of the city walls, on which side is the hill which is enclosed *within* the walls, and which, in the event of the capture of the city itself, it was the intention of Sir Hugh Gough to occupy strongly, as being the key to the possession of the whole city. The other two forts, which might be called the Eastern forts, were situated upon the heights, at some distance to the eastward of the other forts, nearly facing the centre of the city wall. One of these was some way in advance of the other, but not quite so near the wall, which it fronted, as the nearest of the western forts was to the angle of the city walls on that side.

The weather was extremely sultry during the whole of the 25th, which much fatigued the men before the close of the day, and laid the foundation for sickness, to which many afterwards fell victims. The troops were directed to advance along the brow of the hills in echellon of columns; and, as soon as the artillery could be got up, the guns opened upon the two western forts which were nearest, and from which the Chinese had already commenced a spirited fire. They also threatened an attack upon the right, by large columns, which appeared to debouche from the western suburbs.

Our attack upon the two western forts was entrusted entirely to the naval brigade, under cover of the guns and rockets; and, at the same time, the left brigade, under Lieutenant-Colonel Morris, was to advance and carry the nearest of the two eastern forts (which was also the rearmost in relation to the town); while the first brigade, under Major-General Burrell, having carried a hill in their front, upon which a body of Chinese were posted, and which flanked the advance of the left brigade, was to push on and carry the principal eastern fort, cutting off the communication between the two, at the same moment when the 49th made their attack upon the nearest fort.

As the two brigades advanced together, there was some little rivalry (the strictest discipline being preserved) between the 49th and 18th regiments, as to which should have the honour of commencing the attack upon the two forts. The 49th, having the advantage of a shorter and perhaps rather better road, got the lead, which they maintained, so that the left brigade carried

BOTH the eastern forts before the 18th came up, and with little loss.

The two western forts were at the same time gallantly carried by the brigade of seamen, who were exposed to a heavy fire of ginjals, wall-pieces, and matchlocks, from the city walls, by which they suffered some loss.

Thus, in the space of little more than half an hour from the time the advance was sounded, the heights which overlooked the city were in our possession, and the British flag waved in triumph upon all the forts which commanded the city. The Chinese seemed little inclined to come to close quarters as our troops advanced, and they were soon driven out of the forts, making the best of their way down the hills in confusion.

While our troops were thus engaged upon the heights, the Chinese threatened an attack upon the landing-place at Tsingpoo. Their object might have been either to endeavour to cut off the retreat of our troops from the heights, or else to get possession of the stores, &c. which had been left behind. A considerable body of the Chinese sallied out of the western gate of the city, from which a narrow, irregular causeway led down to the landing-place at Tsingpoo.

This movement being immediately observed from the heights, orders were sent down by Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, at the suggestion of Sir Hugh Gough, for some of the officers of the vessels at anchor there to land with their men, and assist in the defence of the place. These orders were delivered to Captain Hall (the Nemesis being nearest in shore) by an officer of the Blenheim, sent on purpose. Preparations had already been made on board

with this object, and Captain Hall lost no time in landing with half his crew, the other half remaining at quarters on board, under Lieutenant Pedder. Two officers and some men also landed from the Sulphur, and a few from the boats of the Blonde. There were twenty-eight men and two officers (besides Captain Hall) from the Nemesis; about fourteen men and two officers from the Sulphur; and eighteen men and two officers from the Blonde: altogether sixty men and seven officers.[1]

Having landed and formed, they immediately joined the small body of troops which had been stationed at the Joss-house to protect the guns, stores, &c., which had been left behind. They were commanded by Lieutenant Grant, of the 49th, and consisted of thirty men of that regiment, thirty of the 18th, under Lieutenant Cockburn, and fourteen of the 37th M.N.I., under Ensign Anquitelle. Lieutenant Grant had got his men under arms the moment the alarm was given; and, perceiving a body of about two hundred and fifty Chinese skirmishers advancing in extended order, he moved out to meet them; when within about fifty yards, he poured in a smart fire, by which many of them were killed, and drove them back upon their main body, who were drawn up in close column, about four hundred strong (regular troops), behind a bridge some distance off, upon which they had planted three field-pieces. The blue jackets having now joined, a flank attack upon the enemy was proposed, but Captain Hall instantly led the way, at the head of

[1] Names of officers:—Captain Hall, Mr. Whitehurst, and Mr. Gaunt, Nemesis; Mr. Goss and Mr. Hooper, H.M.S. Sulphur; Mr. Rolland and Mr. Lambert, H.M.S. Blonde.

his men, *directly down the causeway*, towards the bridge; and, under cover of an excellent fire from the Nemesis and Starling, the whole column attacked the Chinese in front, and were received with an ill-directed fire of grape and curious rocket arrows, by which two men were slightly hit.

The Chinese were driven from their guns, and endeavoured to rally behind some houses in their rear, but they soon made a hasty retreat towards the town, closely pursued for some distance by our men. But it was not thought prudent to follow them within range of the ginjals upon the city walls, as no good purpose could be effected by it, and some loss might have been suffered. About thirty of the enemy were supposed to have been killed and wounded. The three field-pieces were spiked; and the houses near the bridge, in which a quantity of military stores were found, were set on fire.

It is worthy of notice, that this little spirited affair, although officially reported to Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, was never specially mentioned in any of the public despatches; an omission which at that time created some surprise.

To return to our movements upon the heights. During the greater part of the day, a spirited fire was kept up from the city walls, by guns, ginjals, and matchlocks; which made it necessary to keep the men under cover as much as possible.

In the rear, and a little to the eastward of the forts occupied by the 18th and 49th, was a high hill, which, in fact, was the key to the whole position, but it was

not fortified. There was, however, a large joss-house upon the top of it, which was occupied by a detachment of the 49th regiment. Upon the low ground to the eastward of this hill, and between it and a large entrenched camp, situated upon rising ground close to the suburbs, was a village occupied by Chinese troops. Frequent communications were passing between it and the entrenched camp, in which there appeared to be not less than three or four thousand men.

The enemy were soon dislodged from the village by the 49th, and dispositions were made by Sir Hugh Gough to carry the entrenched camp by assault. Several high officers had been observed to pass out of the city, on their way to this camp, and it was evident that some fresh attack was projected. The 18th were therefore ordered down from the heights, to reinforce the detachment of the 49th, together with a few marines, and Major-General Burrel was directed to carry the encampment, the only approach to which was along a narrow causeway. A heavy fire was opened upon them from guns and ginjals upon the north-eastern face of the city walls, to which the men were unavoidably exposed as they advanced. The Chinese seemed to have got the precise range of the causeway, and some loss was suffered in consequence. But the enemy were soon driven gallantly out of the camp, and fled in disorder across the country. The buildings were then destroyed, together with several magazines, and the force then returned to the heights.

The day was now far advanced, and the men were much fatigued with the oppressive heat. The steep and

broken nature of the approach to the heights had made it impossible to get up the heavy guns and ammunition until the following day. The assault of the city was therefore deferred; but Sir Hugh Gough, having made a careful reconnoissance of the walls and gates, determined to carry them on the following day, while the panic of the Chinese was still at its height.

On the morning of the 26th, all was apparently quiet within the city, except that numbers of people were issuing out of the gates, which were removed from the scene of action, hastening to carry away with them all the valuable property which could be easily transported. Our troops were early under arms, but no farther operations against the city could be undertaken until the ammunition and the heavy guns could be brought up; which, owing to the difficulty of the ground, was not likely to be effected before noon.

The weather in the morning did not look auspicious, and before the day was half over rain began to fall in torrents. Few Chinese appeared upon the walls of the city; and at length, soon after ten o'clock, a flag of truce was displayed from the walls. It is remarkable how perfectly well the value of the white-flag was remembered (as before noticed by Captain Elliot) whenever the Chinese wished to negociate, or to induce us to suspend our operations; although they thought proper to slight it whenever it suited their purpose. Shortly afterwards the General deputed Mr. Thom, who was attached to him as interpreter, to advance, and ascertain what the Chinese desired. A mandarin, distinguished by a red button, now stated that they wished

to propose terms of peace, with a view to spare the city, and that in the mean time there should be a suspension of hostilities. It was replied, that the General could treat with no other officer than the Chinese commander-in-chief, his equal in rank; that the British forces had come before Canton much against the wishes of the English nation, but were compelled to do so owing to the insults offered to the British subjects, and the bad faith of the Chinese high officers; that they might, therefore, address their requests to Captain Elliot, who was with the advanced squadron in the river, before the city; and that two or three hours would be allowed for them to communicate with that officer, and also to arrange an interview between the English and the Tartar General; but that if, within that period, no satisfactory communication should be received, the white flag would be struck.

These overtures, on the part of the Chinese, led to no immediate result. Sir Hugh Gough waited more than four hours before the white flag was struck, and even then the Chinese did not lower theirs.

During the remainder of the day, and in the course of the night, by the unwearied exertions of the Royal and Madras Artillery, assisted by the Sappers and Miners, all the guns and ammunition were got up, except one 12-pounder howitzer, the carriage of which had been disabled. During the whole of this time, the rain fell heavily, which much increased the necessary labour, and added to the privations of the men, who either bivouacked or were partially sheltered, as best they could.

The truce, if it could be so called, was of some use to

us, as it gave time for the completion of all the preparations for the assault, which was to have taken place at eight o'clock on the following morning. Our batteries were to have opened at seven o'clock, and it was expected that the parapet of the walls, which was high, would have been reduced by the concentrated fire of our guns. The walls were not less than twenty-eight to thirty feet high, and were separated from the heights, from which they were in some parts less than two hundred paces distant, by an intervening glen.

The broken nature of the ground was peculiarly favourable for the several attacks which were designed; and as soon as a lodgment had been made upon the walls, the different columns of attack were to unite, and make a rush at the fortified hill, which, as before described, was situated within the walls, and commanded the interior of the city. The attack was to have been made in four columns, of which the right, consisting of the royal marines, under Captain Ellis, was to blow open the north gate with powder-bags; but if that attempt failed they were to escalade a circular work thrown up as a defence to that gate. The second column, composed of the blue jackets, under Captain Bourchier, were to escalade the wall a little beyond the circular work, where its height was not so great, under cover of musketry. At the same time, the 18th Royal Irish, under Lieutenant-Colonel Adams, were to escalade the wall close to the seven-storied pagoda, under cover of our batteries on the heights above. The assault was also to be covered by the Bengal volunteers, and part of the Madras 37th, N.I. Further to the left,

the 49th, under Lieutenant-Colonel Morris, were directed to carry a sort of bastion, in front and within range of the largest and nearest of the forts upon the heights, of which we had got possession the day before. Sir Hugh Gough's principal object would then have been to occupy the fortified hill within the walls, upon which a heavy fire of shells and rockets was to have been kept up, during the assault of the walls.

Every arrangement was thus made which could ensure the certain and speedy capture of the city, with little loss on our side. What then must have been the chagrin and disappointment of the general and all his officers, when, soon after six o'clock, just as the final orders were given, and the batteries were about to open, a letter from Captain Elliot was put into the General's hands, which announced to him that a truce had been agreed to, and that further operations must therefore be suspended. It barely arrived in time to stop the assault of the city, which was on the point of being commenced. Under these circumstances, as Sir Hugh Gough observed, "whatever might be my sentiments or feelings, it was my duty to acquiesce, and therefore the attack was countermanded, and the feelings of the Chinese were spared." To this he added that he had no means of judging of the policy of the measure. Disappointment, vexation, and the conviction that the line of due forbearance had been a little overstretched, now took possession of every man's mind; for it was the general belief that nothing short of the capture of the city could make such an impression upon the authorities as would lead to a satisfactory settlement.

If any further doubt upon the subject remained, it was finally set at rest by the arrival of Captain Elliot in person, at the camp, about noon. From that moment all idea of further hostile operations against the city was abandoned.

Shortly before Captain Elliot's arrival, Sir Hugh Gough had held a short conference, accompanied by Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, with the Tartar General in person, outside the walls, in a tent pitched for the purpose. The result was of little importance, as it was already known that terms had been negociated by Captain Elliot.

It could not be doubted that both Sir Hugh Gough and Sir Le Fleming Senhouse were exceedingly averse to granting any terms to the Chinese until our troops should have got possession of the city, and established themselves upon the fortified hill within the walls, which would have secured our troops against any possible surprise or treachery, and would have exercised a salutary moral effect upon the government, without causing any wanton damage to the town or annoyance to the people. In fact, it could not have failed to humble the pride of the Chinese, when they knew that a large garrison of foreign soldiers had made themselves masters of one of the principal cities in the empire, supposed to contain nearly a million of inhabitants.

Various stories were current, concerning the mode in which the ransom of the city was first proposed. One of the most credited accounts was that the Hong merchants were ordered by the authorities to go and make terms for the ransom of the town, in some way or other,

under pain of severe displeasure or punishment. It was said that they were authorized to go as far as *ten* millions of dollars, if a less sum would not suffice; but on no account to return without effecting the object. They must have known that they would themselves have to pay the greater part of the amount, and naturally wished to make the best bargain they could.

It is said that, in the first instance, they pulled alongside one of our men-of-war, and offered three millions for the ransom of the city. As they evidently appeared to be in a hurry to make a bargain of some sort or other, they were told that a much larger sum would be required. Four millions were then proposed, and then five millions; and, at length, in great trepidation and with many protestations of poverty, they raised the offer to six millions. In the first instance, they were scarcely thought to be in earnest, but, as the thing now really looked serious, they were directed to go and confer with Captain Elliot. It was not difficult to persuade him to grant a truce until twelve o'clock the following day, the 27th; and, in the intervening time, terms were definitively agreed upon.

The twenty-four hours' truce, in the first instance, was quite unknown to Sir Hugh Gough, to whom an officer of the navy had been sent in the afternoon to convey the information; but, having missed his way and wandered all night, he only reached the head-quarters, as before stated, within half an hour of the time the batteries were to open. The fact of the truce having been granted was now sufficient to account for the Chinese having continued to display the white flag from the

walls the preceding day, after it had been lowered by Sir Hugh Gough upon the heights.

As it had been stipulated that the Tartar troops should leave the city and retire to a distance of sixty miles from it, a conference was held on the 28th between Sir Hugh Gough and the Prefect of the city, in order to make arrangements for the evacuation of Canton. It was now ascertained that the force amounted to no less than forty-five thousand men, from distant provinces, besides those troops which belonged to the province itself.

It may at first sight appear extraordinary that, with so large a force at the disposal of the authorities, they should have shown so much willingness to listen to terms. On the other hand, it might be thought judicious on our part that we availed ourselves of an advantageous opportunity to avoid the exposure of a handful of men, in the assault of a town garrisoned by so large a body of troops. The fact was, however, that, as soon as the heights which overlooked the town were in our possession, the whole place was completely at our mercy. It could have been easily bombarded, if necessary, and this was dreaded by the Chinese; nor could their numerous but undisciplined masses have withstood our combined assaults upon the walls of the city. Having once gained the hill *within* the walls, no force the Chinese could have brought against us would have been able to dislodge our troops.

The Tartar soldiers were allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, but without displaying their banners, and without music.

So far then the authorities appeared to have perfect control over the people of the city, and over the troops belonging to other provinces which formed the garrison. But beyond the city it was not so easy for them to exercise the same degree of authority, particularly as regarded the armed peasants. For some time, the peasantry of the province, particularly in the neighbourhood of the city, had been encouraged to form themselves into societies, or patriotic bands, as they were called, for mutual defence against the foreigners. They constituted a sort of rude military; but, having inexperienced leaders and no discipline, they were calculated, if once their passions were roused, to become much more troublesome to the province itself than they were formidable to the enemy. They were poorly armed, every man according to his own taste, with spears, swords, a few matchlocks, and shields. With perfect ignorance of military affairs, and without any knowledge of the resources of the enemy they were to encounter, they believed that, by mere force of numbers, and a show of courage at a distance, they could effect that which even their regular Tartars had been totally unable to accomplish. Yet they were held up to the nation at large, by the government, as models of patriotism and self-devotion; and so impressed were they with the high value of their proffered services, that they really believed the high officers had betrayed their trust in acceding to Captain Elliot's terms for the ransom of the city; and that the anxiety of the inhabitants to save their own property had induced them to make unreasonable concessions, at the very moment when *they* (the patriots)

were advancing to exterminate their enemies by falling upon their rear.

It is therefore not surprising that, two days after the city had been ransomed, namely, on the 29th, a considerable body of these men began to collect upon the heights, about three or four miles in the rear of our positions. Their numbers continued to increase throughout the day; and Sir Hugh Gough, being fully prepared to expect some act of treachery or bad faith under cover of a flag of truce, directed Major General Burrell to take charge of our positions, and to hold every man in readiness to repel any attack from the city, while he himself advanced in person to meet and disperse the enemy, who now shewed themselves.

The 26th regiment, under Major Pratt, which had occupied the factories until the 27th, had been brought up to Tsingpoo by the Nemesis on that day, and had joined Sir Hugh Gough upon the heights. The force which the general now took with him comprised that regiment, the 49th, except one company left at the joss-house on the heights, the 37th M.N.I., and the company of Bengal Volunteers, supported by the Royal Marines. These two latter were to be held in reserve, so as to be in readiness to return towards the heights, and act upon the flank, should any attack be made from the town during the absence of so large a portion of our force.

The Chinese had descended from the heights in the rear upon which they had first appeared, and had taken up rather a strong position behind an embankment along the bed of a stream; they appeared to number about four thousand men. The 26th regiment, which had not

yet been engaged, supported by the 37th M. N. I., were ordered to advance and drive them from this position, which they effected without any loss. Like most irregular troops, the Chinese patriots could not act together in a body, but took to flight, throwing away their spears as soon as a well-directed fire was opened upon them. They attempted to rally for a moment at a sort of military post in their rear, but they did not make a stand. The buildings were immediately destroyed, together with a magazine, which was unexpectedly found in the adjoining village. The Chinese retreated to the heights upon which they had first appeared.

Sir Hugh Gough, having then directed the 49th and Bengal Volunteers to fall back upon our original position upon the heights, remained to watch in person the movements of the Chinese, with the 26th and the 37th M. N. I., amounting together to between five hundred and six hundred men.

The heat of the sun this day was excessive; it was so sultry, that both officers and men suffered great exhaustion; and Major Beecher, the deputy quarter-master-general, whose exertions had been unremitting throughout the previous days, fell down and almost immediately expired; several other officers also fell sick.

Within two or three hours after the first repulse of the Chinese, they again collected upon the heights in greater numbers than before, fresh bodies of them having now come up with banners, &c., amounting to from seven thousand to eight thousand men.

Captain Knowles, of the artillery, who had been ordered to bring up some rockets, now threw them, with

great precision, among the Chinese, but without being able to disperse them; indeed, they appeared determined to shew a bold front; and the general, therefore, directed Major Pratt, with the 26th, to attack a large body of them, who had descended from the heights to some rice-fields on his left. Captain Duff, with the 37th M. N. I., supported by the Bengal Volunteers, was also directed to advance and disperse a large body in his front, who had attempted to reoccupy the military post which had been already burnt; they were then to push forward towards the hills, and clear them of the enemy.

These manœuvres were executed with complete success, the Chinese being dispersed at all points. The 37th M. N. I., however, pushed on rather farther than had been intended, and got separated from the Bengal Volunteers. Captain Duff had, however, detached a company to open his communication with the 26th, who were at some distance on his left. But the day was now far advanced; and the thunder-storm, the approach of which had been surely indicated by the extreme sultriness and oppressive heat of the morning, now burst upon them with inconceivable fury. The thunder roared, and the rain descended in torrents, so that the firelocks got wet, and scarcely a single musket would go off. The 26th were, in consequence, frequently compelled to charge with the bayonet; for the Chinese, who hovered about them, seeing that they could not use their firelocks, came boldly up to attack them with their long spears, which are formidable from their length. After several repulses, the Chinese at length withdrew,

and our troops were directed to return to their positions.

It was on this occasion, and in the midst of this terrific storm, in the dusk of evening, that the gallant conduct and steadiness of the company of the 37th M. N. I., which, as before-stated, had been detached to open a communication with the 26th on their left, saved them from total destruction, and won for them the praise of all military men. The story has been so often told, and with so little variation in its details, that it is scarcely necessary to repeat it; a few words will do justice to their gallantry. The detached company having missed the road during the storm, did not succeed in joining the 26th, who, in the mean time, had, in fact, retired. Their muskets were found completely useless, owing to the wet, which emboldened the Chinese to attack their rear with their long spears, as they had done the 26th. They were soon surrounded, and one or two of the men were pulled over with a long crooked spear, something in the shape of a small reaping-hook fixed upon a long pole. The musket of one of the men who had fallen was picked up by the Chinese, the powder being so damp in the pan that it would not go off with the flint and steel. The Chinese soldier, however, deliberately placed the musket to his shoulder, and, taking steady aim at one of the officers, Mr. Berkeley, applied his match to the damp powder, which ignited, and the musket went off, and unfortunately wounded Mr. Berkeley in the arm.

The gallant little company of Sepoys were now moved to some rising ground, where they could better

defend themselves. For a moment the rain ceased, and then with the utmost difficulty they were enabled to get a few muskets off, with unerring effect upon the dense mass of Chinese who surrounded them. But fortune was determined to prolong their trial still. The rain again descended in torrents, just as they had begun their retreat; and the Chinese, taking fresh courage, resumed their attacks. Nothing now remained but to form a square, and stand true to each other, until the morning dawned, and enabled them to fight their way through the enemy.

The absence of this company, when all the rest of the force was concentrated, caused great anxiety concerning their fate. It was rightly attributed to the severity of the storm; but it was feared that they might possibly have been cut off by the Chinese.

Without loss of time, Sir Hugh Gough ordered up two companies of marines, who were comparatively fresh, and armed with percussion-muskets, to return with Captain Duff in search of the missing company. As they advanced they fired an occasional shot, as a signal to their comrades of their approach, and to animate their spirits. At length an occasional shot was heard ahead of them, and they soon afterwards came up with the missing company, drawn up in a square, surrounded by thousands of Chinese. A couple of volleys sent into the midst of the confused crowd, by the unerring percussion-muskets[1] of the marines, accompa-

[1] Only two of the purcussion-muskets of the marines missed fire, although they had been loaded two or three days before, without having been discharged since. The men belonged principally to the Blenheim, under Lieutenant Whiting.

nied by a loud "hurra," dispersed them with great loss. They fled in confusion.

The General's own words will best do justice to this little incident: "The Sepoys," says he, "in this critical situation, nobly upheld the high character of the native army, by unshrinking discipline, and cheerful obedience; and I feel that the expression of my best thanks is due to Lieutenants Hadfield and Devereux, and Ensign Berkeley, who zealously supported them during this trying scene."

They did not, however, escape without some loss, as one private was killed, and one officer and fourteen men were severely wounded.

This open hostility of the Chinese, during the operation of a truce, could not be permitted to continue; and, moreover, it was evident that no good purpose could be attained by merely dispersing these irregular bodies of the Chinese. Accordingly, on the following morning, the 31st, the General sent to inform the Kwang-chow-foo, or prefect, that if these hostile demonstrations were continued, he should be under the necessity of at once hauling down the flag of truce, and of recommencing hostilities against the city. Nor was this threat by any means uncalled for. In the course of the day, before any further arrangements had been made with the Prefect, who promised to come and meet the General and Captain Elliot under the walls, the Chinese again collected upon the hills, displaying their banners, &c., and firing off their guns. Detached parties were also thrown in advance, as if they had some design of communicating with the Tartar troops, who, to the number of

7000, had already marched out of the city, and were still moving.

In the afternoon, the number of Chinese had still further increased, upon the same hills upon which they had appeared the day before. At length the Prefect arrived, and assured the General that the movements of these peasants were quite without the knowledge or sanction of the authorities, and that he would immediately send off an officer of rank to order them to disperse to their homes. It was agreed that one of our own officers should also accompany him, to endeavour to effect this object by their joint efforts; and Captain Moore, of the 34th Bengal N.I., volunteered to undertake this hazardous and responsible duty. Some treachery might possibly have been intended, although, as there was reason to believe, without the sanction of the Prefect, who was, personally, at that time, completely in our power. These irregular bodies were at length induced to disperse, and no further collision took place.

It is impossible for us to know exactly what commucation was made by the Chinese officer, to the heads of these patriotic bands; but it was thought that the people did not withdraw altogether owing to the conviction that their efforts would be useless against us, but because they were bound to obey the orders of the Prefect. At the same time, they really believed that they had been betrayed by their own authorities, and were ready to unite again, whenever occasion offered, with some confidence of success.

During all the operations upon the heights, the greater part of the wounded were brought down and put on board the Nemesis, where they received every attention from the surgeon of the vessel, and particularly from Mr. Peter Young, who was then on board merely as a volunteer. The Nemesis was employed to convey them daily to their respective ships and transports. The total number of casualties amounted to fifteen killed, and one hundred and twelve wounded; among the latter were no less than fifteen officers. The Chinese must have suffered very severely, as almost every shot told upon their heavy masses.

Upon the heights of Canton forty-nine guns were captured, besides a great number of ginjals. But if we reckon all the guns taken and destroyed in the Canton river, and its numerous branches, from Chuenpee to Canton, they will be found to amount to not less than *twelve hundred pieces*, besides ginjals, &c.

The resources of the Chinese seemed endless, and the rapidity with which they erected batteries and field-works was not a little remarkable. It cannot be said that they yielded without first making the most strenuous efforts to defend all the approaches to Canton; and they were rather wanting in skill, and the knowledge of the best mode of applying their abundant resources, than in courage or determination to resist. The Chinese are capable of becoming a formidable enemy; and we cannot forget that, like the Russians, who were once so easily conquered, they may soon learn the art of war from their conquerors, and become for-

midable from the experience which their first disasters taught them.

On the 31st of May, nearly 18,000 Tartars had marched out of Canton, according to the terms agreed on. Five million dollars had also been paid, and security given for the other million which was still to be paid. Preparations were therefore made, at the request of Captain Elliot, for the re-embarkation of our forces, and their withdrawal from before Canton. With the assistance of eight hundred Chinese labourers, who were furnished for the purpose by the Prefect, the guns, ammunition, and stores, were brought down to Tsingpoo on the morning of the 1st of June, under a strong escort, and the British flag having been lowered in the forts upon the heights, the whole of our force was re-embarked in the afternoon, under the superintendence of Captain Bourchier and Captain Maitland. They were again conveyed or towed by the Nemesis down to their respective ships.

Sir Hugh Gough particularly noticed the absence of excess of every kind which distinguished the men during the eight days they were on shore. Although placed in situations where temptation was abundant, only two instances of drunkenness occurred during the whole period.

The treaty, or perhaps rather the truce, which had been made, by no means implied the conclusion of peace between the two nations; it had reference solely to the city and river of Canton, the whole of the forts and defences of which were to be restored to the Chinese as soon as the ransom had been paid; it was, however,

stipulated that they were not to be *re-armed* "until affairs between the two countries should be finally settled." Accordingly, as soon as our forces, both military and naval, had been again concentrated at Hong Kong, preparations were immediately recommenced for the resumption of the projected expedition against Amoy.

With respect to the ransom of Canton, it is scarcely now necessary to revert to the vexed question, as to whether it was to be considered as prize-money, or to be viewed in the light of a contribution. The former view of it was long entertained by many of the officers of the expedition, and the golden hope was cherished that it would be so viewed elsewhere. It was certainly not regarded in that light by Captain Elliot, who accepted the ransom for the use of his government, as a desirable means of relieving the city from the "pressure from without." Under any circumstances, it was merely a droit of the crown. The opinion of Vatel is very simple and conclusive.

"The sovereign alone," says he, "has such claims against a hostile nation, as warrant him to seize on its property, and convert it to his own use. The soldiers, or auxiliaries, are the instruments which he employs in asserting his rights; and they have no more *right* to the booty than they have to the conquests. But, at present, most nations allow them whatever they can make on *certain occasions*, when PLUNDERING is allowed. The sovereign may *grant* the troops what share of booty he pleases; but, instead of pillaging, a more humane and advantageous mode has been adopted, that of *con-*

tributions. Thus the enemy's subjects, by consenting to pay the sum demanded of them, have their property secured, and the country is preserved."

The six millions were evidently intended by Captain Elliot to be received in the light of a contribution, according to the sense in which the word is used by Vatel.

CHAPTER XXIV.

HONG KONG.

Return of all our forces from Canton — Sickness breaks out — Death of Lung-wan and of Sir Le Fleming Senhouse—Buried at Macao— Remarks on Hong Kong—Its extent and position—General character of the island —Influence of the monsoons — Contrast between the islands near the Canton River and those of Chusan — Clarke Abel Smith's observations on Hong Kong in 1816 —Why it is preferred to Lintao —Causes of unhealthiness — Mean temperature of July, 1843 — Remarks on the prevailing sickness — 55th regiment — West-point barracks abandoned—Notices of the southern side of the island — Chekchew—And Skekpywan—Comparatively healthy — Site for a naval-yard recommended—Rivalry of Macao—Wonderful progress of Hong Kong—First land-sale—First house built September, 1841—Description of Victoria at the present time — Public works and institutions— Projected fort—Question of future tenure of land—Quit-rents—Public press of the colony.

In the first week in June, all our ships of war and transports had left the Canton River, and were again assembled at Hong Kong. All the forts from Chuenpee upwards had been restored to the Chinese, without any other stipulation except that all those below Whampoa should be suffered to remain *in statu quo.*

The Emperor seems to have been much displeased with the latter part of this agreement; and, in reply to

the memorial of Yih-shan upon the subject, his majesty directed that "*secret means* of defence should be prepared as soon as the foreign ships had withdrawn from the river, and that they were then to build new and strong forts, and repair the old ones." On our side, however, nothing of this kind was permitted below Whampoa; so that, until the ratifications of the treaty of peace had been actually exchanged, the whole of the defences of the Bogue remained in the same dilapidated state in which they were left when our squadron quitted the river in June, 1841.

Sickness had already begun to prevail among our troops before they had reached Hong Kong. The eight days' exposure which they had endured upon the heights of Canton sowed the seeds of ague and dysentery, which proved far more formidable enemies to us than any troops the Chinese could bring against us. After the lapse of a few days, and when the excitement of active operations on shore, and the cheering influence of hope and novelty had subsided, the sickness spread among the men with alarming rapidity, so that, at length, out of our small force, no less than *eleven hundred men* were upon the sick-list at Hong Kong. Part of this alarming state of things must be attributed certainly to the pernicious influence of the atmosphere of Hong Kong itself at that season of the year. But every allowance must be made for the exposure which the men had undergone at Canton, and for the susceptibility of constitution produced by long confinement on board ship. The germs of disease were planted in their bodies before the men returned to the harbour of Hong Kong; and therefore an undue

stress was laid at the time upon the unhealthiness of Hong Kong itself. We shall revert to this subject more particularly hereafter; but it is worth while here to mention that the three Imperial Commissioners laid particular stress upon the known unhealthiness of the neighbourhood of Canton at that season, as a ground for the impossibility of keeping any large body of troops long together. They assured the Emperor "that it was difficult to pitch so much as a camp there, for, between the *heat and moisture*, if the troops remained long together, there was sure to be a great deal of sickness." Now, if this was the case, as regards the natives of the country, or with regard to Chinese soldiers brought from distant provinces, how much more forcibly will the observation apply to foreign troops, who had been long cooped up on board ship!

It happened, remarkably enough, that two of the high officers died as nearly as possible at the same time, one on the part of the Chinese, and one on our side. Lungwan, one of the imperial commissioners, died of fever at Canton about the middle of June, and Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, the senior naval officer, also died of fever at Hong Kong on the 13th of that month.

Sir Le Fleming Senhouse had partaken of all the privations of the troops on shore, and exposed himself on every occasion in which his zeal and example could serve the cause. He was, moreover, undoubtedly chagrined at the unlooked-for termination of his labours by a truce, the provisions of which, right or wrong, scarcely accorded with his own views of the exigencies of the moment. All these causes combined, acting upon a

not over-strong constitution, sufficed to hurry him by sickness to his grave. On the 17th his remains were removed to Macao, according to a wish which he had expressed before his death; as if he retained a lurking doubt whether Hong Kong would not some day or other be restored to the Chinese. The Nemesis was employed upon this melancholy occasion, to carry over his remains. At Macao the body of the gallant veteran was buried, with all the honours due to his rank, in the English burial-ground. The procession was formed by Captain Elliot, Sir Hugh Gough, and Captain Herbert, (as the senior naval officer) followed by at least seventy naval and military officers, and by nearly all the British and foreign residents. The Portuguese governor also attended, with all his staff, and the Portuguese guard fired three volleys over the grave of the lamented officer.

The loss of Sir Le Fleming Senhouse and other officers, as well as a good many men, and the prevailing sickness on board all the vessels of war and transports, at length threw a gloom over the whole expedition, which was hardly to be relieved until the expected movement upon Amoy should take place; this was accordingly looked forward to with great anxiety.

The island of Hong Kong, which was originally ceded to us by the terms of our treaty with Keshen, but, in consequence of the disallowance of that treaty by the Emperor, was afterwards only held by us by right of occupancy during the progress of hostilities, was at length confirmed as a possession of the crown of Great Britain, by the ratification of the treaty of Nankin. It

was proclaimed as a part of the British empire, and, together with its dependencies, erected into a separate colony, on the 26th of June, 1843, under the designation of the "Colony of Hong Kong."

It is difficult to ascertain what are the actual dependencies of Hong Kong. They, probably, include all the small islands immediately adjacent to it, particularly on its southern side, but, whether Lamma Island is comprised in them or not, we have little means of judging. In the proclamation, dated at its capital town, Victoria, and published by the authority of Sir Henry Pottinger, the colony is said to be situated between twenty-two degrees, nine minutes, and twenty-two degrees twenty-one minutes north latitude; which would give it an extent of twelve miles from north to south; so that Lamma Island, as well as the smaller adjacent islands, would appear to be included in the dependencies. The extent of the colony from east to west is not distinctly laid down, as only one meridian of longitude is given, namely, 114°, 18′, east longitude from Greenwich.

The position assigned to the island of Hong Kong in the maps is, probably, incorrect, as it does not coincide with that laid down by Sir Henry Pottinger in the proclamation. The greatest length of the island itself is from east to west, namely, eight miles; but the breadth is extremely irregular, varying from six miles to about two miles only. A glance at the accompanying map will sufficiently indicate the peculiar form of the island.

The present capital, Victoria, extends for a considerable distance along its northern shore, and, from the nature of the ground, has of necessity been built in a

very extended, straggling manner. The distance across to the mainland of China, if it can be so called, (for part of the opposite coast is probably an island) varies considerably. The breadth of the Lyemoon Passage to the eastward is little more than a quarter of a mile, but from the town to the nearest point opposite to it is about a mile and a quarter, while the greatest breadth is upwards of four miles.

The roads of Hong Kong and the Bay of Victoria form an excellent anchorage, having deep water very near the shore, and only one small shoal having sixteen feet water upon it. There are, however, two disadvantages under which it labours: it is exposed to the full fury of the typhoons whenever they occur; and the high mountains of Hong Kong intercept the genial breezes of the south-west monsoon during the hot season, when a movement in the atmosphere is most necessary, not only to moderate the sultry summer heat of a tropical climate, but to dissipate the unhealthy vapours which are generated after the heavy rains which occur, particularly during the night, at that season.

In other respects, the lake-like appearance of the harbour is beautiful; it forms a sort of basin, lying between the mountains of Hong Kong and the mountains of the mainland opposite. For this reason, however, the rains which fall are sometimes excessively heavy: the dark threatening clouds seem banded across from one side to the other, pouring down their waters in torrents upon the basin between them. The mountain sides of Hong Kong, steep though they are, occasionally appear almost covered with a sheet of moving water, so

torrent-like do the streams pour down their declivities. To this succeeds the burning tropical sun of July, with a sort of death-like stillness in the atmosphere, which, little influenced as it is on that side of the island by the south-west monsoon, cannot fail, if it last long without any change, to produce fever and sickness.

Almost all tropical countries are occasionally subject to these visitations; but, as a proof that Hong Kong is not always exposed to them, I may be permitted to mention that a gentleman who was once at anchor there, in company with a fleet of full fifty sail of merchant ships during a period of nine months, including the whole summer season, assured us that he observed *no prevailing fever or sickness of any kind.*

The extremely barren appearance of nearly all the islands at the mouth of the Canton River, the deep and rugged furrows which seem to plough up their mountain sides, the exposed rocky surface of their summits, and the absence of soil, except in sheltered spots or hollows, seem at once to point out that they are situated within the influence of hurricanes and tropical rains. In this respect, the contrast between this part of China and the Chusan Islands to the northward is very remarkable. The latter look as rich and inviting, both near and at a distance, as the former appear inhospitable and barren. In the one case, there is an industrious and thriving population, who contrive to cultivate the surface of the mountains, frequently to their very summits, with the greatest care and nicety; in the other case, there is a hardy and adventurous population of fishermen, smugglers, and pirates; the unwil-

ling soil is only cultivated in scattered patches, and the villages are few, and comparatively of mean appearance.

The southern side of the island of Hong Kong was visited by the squadron which conveyed Lord Amherst's embassy to China in 1816; and it is, therefore, worth while to repeat here the observations of Dr. Clarke Abel Smith upon that occasion. The bay in which the vessels anchored was near the village of Shekpywan, and was then called Hong Kong Sound. It was described as "being formed by several small islands, by which it is land-locked on every side, and of which Hong Kong is the principal." "As seen from the deck," says Dr. Smith, "this island was chiefly remarkable for its high conical mountains rising in the centre, and for a beautiful cascade, which rolled over a fine blue rock into the sea."

This was in the beginning of July. The rocks on that side of the island were found approaching to basalt in compactness of structure. In ascending the principal mountain which was near, he followed the course of a delightful stream, which rises near its summit; and was much struck with the extreme barrenness of the surface of the mountain, and, indeed, of every part of the island which he was able to visit. "Yet at a distance," says he, "it appears *fertile*, from the *abundance of fern*, which I believe to be the polypodium trechotomum [of Kæmpfer] which supplies *the place of other plants*."

By the side of the stream, however, he found several interesting plants. Among them the Beckia chinensis, myrtus tomentosus in abundance, and in full flower,

melastoma quinquenervia, and several orchideous plants, of which he could not determine the varieties. There were a great number of ferns, but not a single moss of any description. He adds that he was unable to reach the summit of the mountain, in consequence of the excessive heat, which at eight a. m. raised the thermometer to 83° in the shade, while the sun's rays, to which he was necessarily exposed, darted through an unclouded atmosphere with an almost intolerable effect, and raised the mercury to 120°.

On his way down from the mountain, he followed a path which led over a small hill, or rather mound, differing in structure from the rocks in its neighbourhood, being composed of very friable stone, of reddish white colour, much resembling disintegrated felspar. He describes the scenery of the island as composed of barren rocks, deep ravines, and mountain torrents, with few characters of a picturesque kind. The only inhabitants he saw were some poor weather-beaten fishermen spreading their nets, and drying the produce of their toils, on the rocks which supported their miserable huts. Its cultivation corresponded with the apparent state and number of its population. Patches of rice, small plantations of yams, and a little buck-wheat, were all their visible means of vegetable support.

As regards the anchorage itself, at what he calls Hong Kong Sound, naval men described it as affording admirable shelter for ships of any burden.

Such, then, is all the information acquired at that time concerning a portion of the southern side of Hong Kong. Little was it then thought that this very island

would in a few years become a part of the British empire.

Dr. Smith also made some curious remarks upon the geological character of a small island, only separated from it by a channel about one hundred yards broad, and not extending above three hundred yards in length. It was entirely composed of granite and basalt, but on one side of it there was a dyke of basalt passing upwards *through* the granite, but separated from it by three narrow veins, of which one was composed of pure felspar, and another of a sort of porphyry, consisting of crystals of felspar in a basaltic base.

The description given above of the general aspect of Hong Kong may be considered as tolerably correct; but, by the increase of its population since that period, and more particularly after it became a place of resort for our ships, even before the close of the war, the general appearance of the island gradually improved, and the population became augmented. At the time we took possession of the island there was little to tempt us to make a settlement there, except the excellent anchorage on its northern side, having a passage in and out at either end, its proximity to the mouth of the Canton river, and the difficulty of finding any more suitable place for our purpose.

By many, the larger island of Lintao, a little to the westward of Hong Kong, was recommended in place of the latter; and on one occasion, after we restored Chuenpee, the greater part of our squadron anchored off its western extremity. The principal objections to the occupation of that island were probably its extent,

which would make it more difficult to hold, and would render a larger force necessary to protect it against thieves and pirates, as well as against an enemy; the more exposed situation of its anchorage; the equal barrenness of its aspect, without any ascertained advantage of being more healthy; and I have also heard it stated that the water is not equally abundant or good.

At the eastern end of Hong Kong there are capital stone-quarries, which are worked with skill and facility by Chinese labourers, so that building is much facilitated; water is also abundant and generally good. A long range of mountains stretches from one end of the island to the other, of which the highest point, called Victoria Peak, is about two thousand feet above the level of the sea; and, at the foot of the very mountain, part of the town of Victoria (and it would seem also its most unhealthy part) is built. Now, as this range of rugged mountains extends from east to west, the harbour, and consequently the principal part of the town and places of business lying upon its northern side, it is self-evident that the influence of the south-west monsoon, which prevails during the summer months, and is then most required to dissipate the vapours generated out of the earth by a tropical sun, can scarcely ever be felt on the northern side of the mountains. It has even been remarked that, *in all parts of* China, places so situated as to be sheltered from the influence of the south winds during the summer season, are sure to be unhealthy.

The mere temperature of a place, as shown by the

thermometer, is neither an index to its unhealthiness or otherwise, nor to the actual sensations produced by it upon the human body. For instance, at Singapore, which is situated only about seventy miles from the equator, the heat is not felt to be excessive, nor is sickness prevalent during any season of the year. Yet rain falls constantly during the night, the grass looks beautifully green even in the hottest season, and when pineapples are to be seen growing wild in the hedges, and coming to perfection. But Singapore is entirely open to the *southward*, and its atmosphere is agitated and its vapours dissipated by the refreshing sea-breezes which constantly pass over it.

The mean temperature of the month of July last (1843), at Hong Kong, was 88°, the lowest was 84°, and the highest 92°. Hence it appears that the difference of temperature between day and night is much less than might be expected; in fact, the *lowest* temperature was only four degrees below the average temperature of the whole month. On one occasion only it rose to 92° during the middle of the day, and once only fell to 84° during the night.

But, if the town of Victoria is deprived of the advantage of the south-west breezes during the hot season, it is fully exposed to the influence of the north-east monsoon during the winter months. The sudden change which takes place sometimes in a few hours, in the months of October and November, is severely felt. In the beginning of December I have felt the cold breezes from the northward far more piercing than the hardest frost in the still atmosphere of northern regions, because

the change is sudden. Hence the practice among the Chinese of putting on a succession of warm coats, or wadded pelisses, or taking them off one by one, according as the temperature changes, is the only safe course for Europeans to adopt. In fact, all those who visit Hong Kong, or take up a lengthened residence there, must be provided with clothing adapted to the extremes of temperature, and be cautious not to defer the changes of costume too long; they should rather err on the side of too much than too little clothing.

Now I am upon the subject of the unhealthiness of Hong Kong generally (to which subject, however, I shall again revert), I cannot omit to mention that the sickness has by no means been limited to those who resided on shore, but has to a very great extent afflicted those also who remained on board ship. Nor did it diminish so rapidly as had been expected (during the past year, 1843), as the season advanced and the temperature diminished. On the contrary, after being in a great measure arrested at the commencement of November, it seemed to acquire fresh virulence towards the latter end of that month. A private letter, dated November 3d, says, "The men-of-war are reducing their sick lists. The Cornwallis has now only one hundred and four; the other day she had one hundred and sixty under the doctor's hands." Another letter, dated the 28th of the same month, says, "The sickness is again as bad as ever. Each ship loses a man daily. Among the troops on shore how many are lost! Many gentlemen who have been sick, and are now recovering, are starting off for England, for health's sake."

Health committees have been established, and it is hoped that some good may result from their investigations. All parts even of the northern side of the island are not equally unhealthy; and it must be remembered that a place may be very unhealthy one year, and be comparatively free from sickness the following year. It is also remarked that the occurrence of a typhoon (though in other respects much to be dreaded) tends materially to improve the healthiness of an otherwise sickly place, by the violent phenomena, barometrical and electrical, which it produces, and by which all nature is affected.

Hitherto the western and eastern extremities of Victoria Bay seem to have proved most unhealthy to Europeans, the centre being less so. The left wing of the 55th, quartered at West Point barracks, lost one hundred men between June and the middle of August last; and at length the place was abandoned, and the rest of the men sent on board ship. At the recommendation of a health committee, the ground in the neighbourhood was ordered to be levelled and well drained. This essential measure will doubtless be resorted to in other situations; indeed, it would be a matter of the highest importance, if possible, to prohibit the cultivation of rice by the Chinese upon *any part* of the island. Wherever rice is grown, particularly within or verging upon the tropics, there must be more or less unhealthiness. If compensation were thought requisite, to reimburse the Chinese proprietors for the loss of their crops, the amount would be small in comparison with the advantage gained. But, in reality, where the rice-grounds

(which, after all, are very limited) had been properly drained, they might be adapted to the cultivation of other productions equally necessary for a population numbering so many Europeans, and less likely to be prejudicial to the health of the community. The *northernmost* point in Europe where rice is cultivated, is, I believe, the neighbourhood of Milan. But, even there, none is permitted to be grown within a circuit of several miles of the city, owing to the unhealthiness which it would produce.

At the eastern extremity of Victoria Bay is a considerable valley, shut up by mountains on every side, except towards the sea. It is laid out almost entirely in rice-grounds; and the waters of a natural stream, descending from the mountains at the end of the valley, have been diverted from their natural channel, and conducted by innumerable streamlets to every part of the valley, for the irrigation of the rice-grounds. Several houses have been built upon the declivity of the hills around it, in the expectation that this would be the ultimate site of a second town, as soon as the very limited space between the mountains and the harbour, along the front of Victoria Bay, should be completely occupied, which it bids fair soon to become. The draining of this valley would essentially improve the condition of that important portion of the island.

A good road has already been nearly completed across that valley, and over the mountains to the other side of the island, leading down to Tytam Bay, and the important village of Chek Chu. Beyond this valley, to the eastward, on the other side of Matheson's Point, are

fine bold rocks, running down to the water's edge; being also more open to the draught of air along the Lyemoon passage, this position would probably be a healthy one. Barracks were to be built there, and near it is one of the three spots recommended for the formation of a dockyard, but from its being partially, though not materially, exposed to the effects of the typhoons, there is a probability of its not being selected for the purpose. Somewhere at this end of the harbour, it was also proposed that a new government-house should be built, on a scale proportioned to the importance of the colony, as a part of the British empire in those seas. Hitherto, I believe, nothing has been decided upon the subject.

It is hoped that much may yet be done to remedy the reputed unhealthiness of the island, by proper draining, and by the formation of numerous channels for leading off the torrents of water which, during a portion of the hot season, pour down from the mountain sides, and lodge in hollows and crevices when the floodgates of heaven are opened upon the devoted little island. Something may also be effected by getting rid, as much as possible, of the rank, unwholesome vegetation which, under the influence of an almost vertical sun, springs up in every crevice where the water lodges.

I cannot undertake to say whether the numerous species of the fern tribe, which seem to abound in some parts of the island, may or may not contribute something to the poisonous condition of the atmosphere. The subject is well worthy of consideration. Various other surmises have been hazarded, some, perhaps, a

little fanciful, such as that the rocks of which the mountains are composed have some peculiar property, when water lodges in them, of producing miasmata. But in this case it would seem more natural to attribute the effect, if such there be, to the stagnation and evaporation of the water, than to any peculiar property of the lifeless rock. Rank vegetation, in some of the little hollows, become lifeless and putrid by heat and moisture, may have some local influence; but it is probable that various causes combine to produce one result; and among these we must not altogether overlook the electrical conditions of a tropical atmosphere, little agitated during the hot season by purifying and refreshing breezes.

Having thus spoken so much concerning the northern side of the island in particular, it may be asked what is the state of the southern side, as regards its healthiness. Undoubtedly the southern side, being open to the south-west monsoon, is comparatively healthy, but there is no harbour fit for mercantile purposes on that side, nor was any land appropriated there for building purposes in the first instance, because the unhealthiness of Victoria Bay was not fully ascertained, and because, where a man's treasure or his business is, there will his heart and his occupation be also. Doubtless, in a very short time, many of the Europeans will reside on the southern side of the island, and cross over the mountains daily to transact their business.

The principal Chinese village, which numbered a population of about two thousand even when we took possession of the island, is prettily situated on the southern

side, in a sheltered bay, well open, however, to the south-west wind. It is called Chek-chu, and, at the suggestion of Major Aldrich, cantonments have been formed for a detachment of troops there, so as to separate them from the Chinese population. A detachment of the 98th regiment, which was quartered there during the last season, remained almost entirely healthy.

There is little doubt that in a short time many Europeans will take up their residence in that neighbourhood. There is another detachment stationed at Shekpy-wan, and I believe there was, or is, another small detachment at the eastern extremity of the island. There is every probability that a naval yard will be formed also on the southern side, probably in the bay where the Alceste and Lyra anchored in 1816. Here there is plenty of water for the largest ships, and perfect shelter from the fury of the typhoons, which cannot be found on any part of the northern coast. It is true that there is not room for a large ship to work in, but there will always be steamers stationed at Hong Kong, and the facility of towing a ship in will remedy all the supposed inconvenience of narrow space.

The third place proposed for the site of a naval yard was Navy Bay, at the western extremity of the harbour; but it lies fully exposed to the whole fury of a typhoon, being, in fact, a lee-shore during the whole duration of the storm; and it has proved to the troops on shore one of the most unhealthy spots in the island.

It is extremely difficult to form any tolerable estimate of the Chinese population on the island. It varies continually, a great part of the people being migratory.

When we first took the island there were probably about five thousand Chinese upon it, exclusive of the boat-people, casual labourers from the opposite coast, and others of a migratory description. They were distributed into fourteen or fifteen villages or hamlets, of which the principal, as before stated, was Chek-chu, on the southern side, situated in a bay partly formed by the long irregular headland which runs out and takes the name of Tytam Head. This bay, together with Tytam Bay, will doubtless soon become a favourite spot for the retired residences of Europeans.

Since we have held possession of the island, the Chinese have naturally been attracted to it in great numbers. The tradesmen, mechanics, servants to English residents, labourers, boatmen, and market-people, are all Chinese. Add to these, also, a small body of Chinese police, and we shall find that the population must be considerable. In all the warehouses of the merchants a vast number of porters and attendants are employed; all the houses are built by Chinese workmen, and a vast number are also employed by government upon the public roads and works. The number of migratory, or trading people, who come down from Canton, Macao, and other parts, is also large; so that, upon the whole, the high estimate of 30,000, which has been given, may not be much overrated. But this number probably includes the Europeans, the number of whom, exclusive of the military, cannot be large, perhaps a very few hundreds.

The reputed unhealthiness of the town of Victoria has deterred many from coming over from Macao for the

present, who otherwise contemplated establishing themselves on the island. The uncertainty which has prevailed respecting the liberty to store opium, has also tended to give a check to the originally rapid progress of the settlement.

In the mean time, the Portuguese, becoming fully sensible of the deterioration of the value of property at Macao, owing to the sudden rise of a rival European settlement in their neighbourhood, began to take into consideration the propriety of rendering Macao a free port, similar to Hong Kong, and probably without any restrictions as to opium. Great efforts have been made to effect this object, and the Portuguese governor had gone up to Canton, attended by his suite, with a view to confer with the authorities, in the hope of procuring from the government the recognition of greater privileges than they had hitherto enjoyed. This circumstance, together with the momentary pause at Hong Kong, had tended to reassure the European inhabitants of Macao, and to raise the value of houses (which had previously fallen), from ten to fifteen per cent.

If means should be found (of which strong hopes are entertained) of improving the condition of Hong Kong, as regards its healthiness, no attempted rivalry of Macao could affect the new settlement to any extent. It has neither a harbour for ships to anchor in, sufficiently near the town, nor ground upon which warehouses could be built, nor can the Portuguese officers ever possess more than a very restricted and, perhaps, precarious authority.

The wonderful progress of our settlement at Hong

Kong, in the first instance, affords, perhaps, one of the most striking instances that has ever been recorded, of the astonishing energy and enterprise of the British character. Great as were the early strides made even by some of the Australian colonies, situated, too, at the opposite end of the globe, their progress, compared with that of Hong Kong, was slow and difficult. When our forces were assembled in the harbour of Hong Kong, on their return from Canton, in June, 1841, there was not a single regularly built house, fit for the habitation of Europeans, upon the island; for the Chinese villages can hardly be taken into account. When the expedition set sail for Amoy, about two months afterwards, a few mat-sheds and temporary huts were all that indicated the future site of the town of Victoria, or pointed out what was soon to become the centre of British conmerce in that part of the world, and the seat of British power upon the threshold of the most populous empire the world ever saw. But arrangements had already commenced preparatory to the formation of a settlement; and these were of such a nature as to lead to the assurance that the island would not, under any circumstances, be restored to the Chinese.

The first sale by auction, of land, or rather of the annual quit-rents only, was held in June. On the 7th of that month, Hong Kong was declared to be a free port, and on the 22nd, Mr. A. R. Johnston, the deputy superintendent of trade, was appointed acting governor of the island.

The portion of land put up for sale in the first instance consisted of only thirty-four lots, each of which

was to have a sea-frontage of about one hundred feet; but the depth of each lot, of course, varied considerably, according to the nature of the ground. The sale of the annual quit-rents only, payable in advance, produced no less a sum than £3,165 10*s*. yearly, at this first sale. Equally high prices also were obtained on subsequent occasions. Moreover, one of the conditions of sale was, that each purchaser should be required to incur an outlay upon each lot, within the *first six* months, either in building or otherwise, of not less than one thousand dollars, or upwards of two hundred and twenty-two pounds sterling, and a deposit of five hundred dollars was to be paid into the hands of the treasurer, within one week, but was to be repayable as soon as an equal amount had been expended.

Accordingly, within six months from the time above named, wonderful improvements had taken place, although much preliminary work was necessary before any solid buildings could be erected. In fact, the first regular house built for Europeans was not completed until September or October following; and, as it was constructed entirely by Chinese mechanics, it assumed very much the form of a Chinese house.

The government now began to form an excellent road, called the Queen's Road, along the front of the harbour, and to encourage improvements in every possible way. The elements of a regular establishment were soon formed, and the nucleus of a powerful European community was soon planted upon the borders of haughty China. Its progress from this moment was wonderful, and no stronger argument than this can be addu-

ced to point out the *necessity* of such an emporium as Hong Kong, and the impossibility of continuing the former state of things.

Within *one year* from the completion of the first house, not only were regular streets and bazaars for the Chinese erected, but numerous large substantial warehouses were built, mostly of stone, some already finished, and others in progress. Wharfs and jetties were constructed of the most substantial kind; the sound of the stonemason's hammer was heard in every direction, and a good road was in progress, and an admirable market was established in English style, under covered sheds, and well-regulated by the police. The Chinese willingly resorted to it, and brought abundant supplies of every description, readily submitting themselves to all the regulations. Large commissariat stores and other public buildings, including barracks at either end of the town, were finished. The road, which was carried along the foot of the hills, extended already to a distance of nearly four miles, and a cut was being made through a high sand-hill, in order to continue it further; and at intervals, along the whole of the distance, substantial and even elegant buildings were already erected. The numerous conical hills which distinguish this part of the island were nearly all levelled at the top, in readiness to commence building new houses; stone bridges were in progress, and the road was being rapidly continued over the hills at the eastern end of Victoria Bay, leading down to Tytam Bay, and the picturesque village of Chek-chu.

In short, whether we look at the public spirit shown

by government, or the energy and liberality of private individuals, who seemed, by one common consent, to set about forming a settlement such as had never been heard of before, we cannot but wonder at the results, and foresee the influence which England must henceforth always exercise over the hitherto unapproachable Chinese. The Chinese inhabitants seemed to fall readily into our ways and habits; their labourers and mechanics worked well and willingly for moderate pay, and came over in crowds from the opposite coast to seek work; tradesmen crowded in to occupy the little shops in the bazaars; two European hotels and billiard-rooms were completed; and, in short, every necessary and most luxuries could be obtained with facility at Hong Kong, *within the first year of its permanent settlement.* Even the Portuguese missionaries came over and built a sort of convent and a chapel; the Morrison Education Society and the Missionary Hospital Society commenced their buildings; more than one missionary society made it their head-quarters, and the Anglo-Chinese College, at Malacca, was about to be removed to this more favourable spot. A small Roman Catholic chapel was nearly finished, and a neat little American Baptist chapel had been opened for divine service, being the first Protestant place of public worship ever established in that part of the world; of course, with the exception of the old company's chapel, in the factory at Canton. There was, however, no Church of England service performed at that time on the island; a deficiency which happily has since been remedied.

Foreign merchants had also commenced building, and

it was a curious sight to see the hundreds of Chinese labourers working upon the construction of *our* houses and roads, and flocking from all quarters to furnish *us* with supplies, and seeking their living by serving us in every way, at the very time when we were at war with their government, and carrying on hostile operations against their countrymen to the northward. At the same time, also, Chinese tailors and shoemakers were busy in their little shops making clothes for us, and Chinese stewards superintended our establishments, while Chinese servants (in their native costume, tails and all) were cheerfully waiting upon us at table: and all this within little more than one year after the *first* land-sale at Hong Kong, and while we were still at war.

There appears to have been some little mistake in the original site of the town, the principal part of which, or, at least, the part most inhabited by the Chinese, is situated in a great measure upon the declivity of the highest of the mountains which shut in the harbour. The space for building is very limited, and, indeed, this is the case along the whole shore. Gradually people have spread themselves eastward along the front of the harbour, and, probably, at no very distant time a second town will spring up at the eastern end of the harbour; indeed the buildings already erected by Messrs. Jardine and Matheson are so extensive, as to form almost a town of themselves. But, the great distance from one end of Hong Kong, or rather of Victoria to the other, is already a source of great inconvenience, particularly in a hot country. In a short time, the establishment of an exchange in some central part will probably

be undertaken, and will go far to remedy the inconvenience.

It is unfortunate that the space between the foot of the mountains and the edge of the sea is so very limited. It would have been a great advantage to have been able to form a quay or esplanade along the front of the harbour, with warehouses and dwelling-houses in the rear. But this was not practicable; and, consequently, the back of the warehouses in most instances faces the water, which in some measure detracts from the appearance of the town, as seen from the harbour. Nevertheless, it is impossible for the stranger not to be struck with the first view of it as he approaches. He could scarcely be prepared to see so many large, handsome buildings occupying a great extent of frontage, in a settlement so recently acquired.

There are few things more striking of the kind than the view of the Bay of Victoria and the roads of Hong Kong, from any one of the hills at its eastern end towards Matheson's Point. The number of European vessels, Chinese junks, boats of all kinds, and the long line of handsome buildings skirting the bay, and lighted up by a brilliant sun piercing a cloudless atmosphere, present a picturesque and interesting scene, which is scarcely detracted from even by the barren mountains in the rear.

A reference to the accompanying map will suffice to point out the site of the different public buildings already erected.

As regards the defences of Hong Kong, it is evident that our main reliance must always be placed upon our

ships of war. The two small batteries already erected could be of little service against an enemy; but a plan has been submitted by Major Aldrich, the commanding engineer, for forming a large fort somewhere about the centre of the bay, and the occupiers of land, on the spot selected by that officer, received notice to be prepared to surrender their rights to the government, for which they were to receive compensation, and permission to select land elsewhere. But this plan did not meet the concurrence of Sir Henry Pottinger, although he referred it for the consideration of the government at home. There is, however, little likelihood of its being adopted.

The question of the tenure of land for the future at Hong Kong, or rather the terms upon which it can be obtained from the government, is one of the highest importance. It is understood that it is not the intention of government to permit any land to be alienated from the crown. Future sales of land will probably be effected in the same way as the earlier ones; that is, merely the annual rental of the different lots of land will be put up to auction. No regulations upon this subject have yet been issued; and, most likely, the new governor, Mr. Davis, will have some discretionary power in fixing the precise terms upon which the *right of occupation* of land will be disposed of. The system of annual rentals to government in a colony circumstanced as Hong Kong is,—a free port, a soil mostly barren, and an island of very limited extent,—must appear to every one the most judicious plan to adopt. A *permanent* annual fund will thus be created for the purposes of go-

vernment, and one which must increase every year rather than diminish.

On the other hand, the absolute sale of the fee-simple of the land would certainly produce a considerable sum for temporary use, and would provide means for completing extensive public works without any charge to the mother country. But this fund would soon be exhausted, and then nothing whatever would remain to contribute to the heavy public expenses of the island. In a free port you cannot levy a regular revenue from duties of any kind, and the small sum that could be raised by licences and special local charges could never be considerable. Hong Kong will always possess the immense advantage of abundant labour at a reasonable rate. Any number of Chinamen which could possibly be required will always be readily obtained from the mainland.

I must not omit to mention, among the strong characteristics of English colonization, the establishment of a free press at Hong Kong. A newspaper is usually one of the first undertakings in an English settlement. It has been said, in respect to colonization, that the first thing the French undertake is to build a fort, the Spaniards a church, and the English a factory or a warehouse; but, perhaps, it is more characteristic still, that one of the first things the English establish is a press. The Englishman carries with him his birthright of free discussion; and the power of having a good hearty grumble in *print* compensates him for many early inconveniences of a new settlement. There are four English newspapers published in China: the Hong Kong Ga-

zette, the Eastern Globe, the Hong Kong Register, and the Canton Press; of which the last is published at Macao, and the other three at Hong Kong. In the first-named all the government notices are inserted by authority.

According to the latest accounts, the Morrison Institution had been opened for some time, and the youths who were being educated were making good progress. The Seamen's Hospital for the merchant service was opened on the 1st of August last, and was calculated to afford accommodation to fifty men and officers. This institution is in a measure a self-supporting one, a certain sum being paid daily for the maintenance of each person admitted.

It is impossible to contemplate the wonderful progress made in so short a period of time in this last acquisition of the British crown, without astonishment at the past and present, and great hopes of the future. Hong Kong may have received an unexpected check, owing to the unhealthiness of the season which has just past; but, having already advanced so far, it *must* continue to progress, and to regain that vigour which has for a moment been impaired. We cannot but hope that means will yet be found to render the island less prejudicial to the health of Europeans, and that it will rise to become a boasted spot in the wide empire of Great Britain. A few remarks are yet reserved for the next chapter.

CHAPTER XXV.

HONG KONG CONTINUED.

General remarks—Future government of Hong Kong—Prospects of the opium-trade—Sir Henry Pottinger's proclamations—Attempts of Americans to enter China in opposition to the Mandarins—Visit to Chang-chow—Mutual surrender of criminals—Account of the great Typhoon—Superstitions of the Chinese—Dreadful destruction—Distressing scenes—Danger of the two Plenipotentiaries—Presence of mind of Captain Elliot—Wreck of the Louisa—Imminent danger and narrow escape—Nemesis renders assistance, after the typhoon—Narrow escape of the Starling—Arrival of Sir Henry Pottinger and Sir William Parker from England.

It is intended that Hong Kong shall be governed upon the same principles by which other crown colonies are regulated, namely, that there shall be a legislative and an executive council, to aid the governor with their advice and assistance.

The importance of Hong Kong, not only with regard to the commerce of all nations with China, but more especially with reference to our relations with the Chinese government, cannot be estimated too highly. However scrupulous we may be in the first instance to limit our intercourse, as much as possible, to the mere commercial questions which may arise, it is impossible

not to foresee that other complications may result from it, the issue of which it would be presumptuous to predict. A new era has at length opened upon China, a sudden and almost incredible change in all her relations with foreigners; and the ease and apparent readiness with which she has acceded to all the proposed arrangements respecting trade, is perhaps not less remarkable than the pertinacious obstinacy with which she had so long and so haughtily refused to make any change whatever in the established order of things.

Providence has at length ordained that a vast empire, which comprises nearly a third of the human race, shall no longer remain totally excluded from the great family society of nations; and we cannot but believe that the period has at length arrived when that wonderful nation is, by a slow but steady progress, to be brought under the influence of Christianity. But, while we are impressed with this feeling, let us not be too hasty in precipitating a crisis which may convulse a mighty empire from one end to the other. This, then, leads us to the momentous question of the ultimate disorganization or breaking up of the Chinese empire. *This is the great event which we have to dread;* for who can contemplate the fearful results of such a crisis without alarm, and without a desire to prevent a catastrophe of so vast a nature?

In this point of view, the possession of Hong Kong, the state of our relations with the Chinese government, and the difficult questions which may possibly, at no distant period, require our most anxious attention, (it must not be forgotten that the present Emperor of

China is already in the decline of life) involve a degree of responsibility which cannot be too deeply felt, and can scarcely be approached without misgivings. Every member of the government of Hong Kong must, therefore, be keenly alive to the responsibility of his position, and must watch with profound anxiety every one of the widely spreading circles into which the acts of our administration may ultimately extend themselves. We must stand up before the Chinese government, not only in the relation of a friend, but *of an ally;* and, instead of weakening its authority, we ought rather to support its influence in the eyes of its own people. Our intercourse with that remarkable nation ought to be recorded in the pages of history as a blessing, and not, what it might readily become, without great caution and prudence—a curse. We cannot but believe that this little England is yet destined to play a wonderful part among the nations of the earth; and that it is still reserved for her, by Providence, to be the benefactor of the human race, and not least so of that vast portion of it which acknowledges the dominion of the Emperor of China.

Impressed with the truth of these observations, the first great and difficult question which awakens our anxiety, is that of the future relations of the opium-trade, and the course which is to be pursued with respect to it at Hong Kong. Great anxiety has been felt as to the regulations which may be applied to it, in our own settlement, which is understood to be in all respects a free port. It would seem, therefore, that the storage of opium at Hong Kong could hardly be prohibited;

and yet it is difficult to discover how it would be possible, in that case, to avoid the dilemma of appearing in the eyes of the Chinese government to sanction, and even encourage, a description of trade especially prohibited by the Emperor. The simplest and indeed the only effectual mode by which all the difficulties of the question could be surmounted would be, inducing the Chinese government to legalize the trade, and to consent to the introduction of the drug, upon payment of a certain duty.

No stronger arguments could be advanced in favour of this step than those already employed by Chinese writers themselves, in the various memorials presented to government upon the subject. Although the opium-trade is not even alluded to in either of our recent treaties, it is well known that Sir Henry Pottinger has used his best efforts to induce the Chinese government to consent to the legalization of the trade, and to introduce the article into the tariff. It is possible that this object may be ultimately effected, but at present we have no reason to believe that any material progress has been made towards bringing this question to a satisfactory conclusion.

In the mean time, it is evident that we are bound to discourage the violation of Chinese law, as much as possible, where that law is so easily evaded. Sir Henry Pottinger's proclamation of the 1st of August last, against taking opium to any of the new ports, is sufficiently strong and explicit; and it is distinctly declared, that any one who may do so must be prepared to take upon himself all the consequences, and that he will meet

with no support or protection from her Majesty's consuls or other officers. In another proclamation, his excellency declares that he will adopt the most stringent measures against any parties who may even attempt to evade any of the provisions of the commercial treaty; and further, that he will in no case permit the national honour, dignity, and good faith, to be compromised in the estimation of the Chinese government, and that, if necessary, he will respectfully trust that the legislature of Great Britain will hold him indemnified for adopting such measures as the particular emergency may require.

Nevertheless, the opium-trade has never been more thriving than during the past year, and bitter complaints have appeared in the Pekin gazettes, of the introduction of the drug even into the imperial palace. The Emperor appears to be as hostile to the opium-mania as ever, and yet all his measures against it are quite as ineffectual as they have ever been. In fact, the people are determined to enjoy the forbidden luxury at all hazards, and no means hitherto attempted have deterred even the public officers of government from conniving at the clandestine trade, nor is it likely that they will ever be proof against the temptation of heavy bribes, which the large profits derived from the traffic enable those concerned in it to offer.

Under these circumstances, we cannot but believe that the government will ere long be induced to take the only rational view of the question, and permit it to become a legal trade, under certain wholesome regulations. It has been proposed that a certain fixed duty should

be levied upon the drug when imported into Hong Kong; but this would be ineffectual, because, if the duty were small, it would answer no good purpose whatever, and, if it were heavy, little or no opium would be brought into the island, except by smuggling; the merchants would in that case store it, as heretofore, on board ship.

The new governor will go out armed with full power to establish such regulations, with regard to this and other important matters, as may appear to him most compatible with our engagements with the Chinese government, and best calculated to meet all the difficulties of the question. Much, therefore, must depend upon the judgment and discretion of that high functionary, from whose known ability and knowledge of the Chinese character great expectations are derived.

Should the trade in opium become ultimately legalized, it cannot be doubted that it would greatly tend to the advantage of Hong Kong, and would induce many Chinese merchants to come over and seek it there, who would at the same time be tempted to make other purchases as well. The drug would then in some measure be paid for in the produce of the country, and not, as it is at present, in silver exclusively, and, in fact, all the commercial relations of the country would at once be placed upon a much more satisfactory footing.

Notwithstanding the known unhealthiness of Hong Kong during the last season, merchants are still inclined to form establishments there, under the impression that the whole question of the traffic in opium will, at no distant period, be more advantageously settled.

There is, however, another point out of which difficulties may arise, besides the one above-mentioned; namely, the attempts of foreigners to enter China at other places besides the five ports, or even, at these latter, to push themselves far beyond the limits indicated by the Chinese authorities. According to our present understanding, certain boundaries are to be laid down, beyond which no foreigners are to pass. But there will be many difficulties in the way of preventing the violation of these regulations. It is possible that in some instances the people themselves may induce foreigners to transgress these boundaries; in other cases, it may be done from mere motives of curiosity; and possibly in other instances from a sort of reckless feeling that the Chinese ought to be taught better, and be *made* to adopt European customs.

These matters, trifling in themselves in the first instance, may ultimately lead to most serious difficulties, arrest of Europeans by Chinese officers, quarrels with the natives, and even bloodshed. Already something of this kind has occurred, and the interference of Sir Henry Pottinger has been called for. A little pamphlet has even been published at Macao, called a "Narrative of a recent visit to the Chief City of the department of Changchow, in the Province of Fokien." In this case the aggressors were not Englishmen, but Americans, and they forced their way into the country, in opposition to the wishes and orders of the local authorities, who pointed out to them that their doing so was contrary to the provisions of the treaty. It is evident that they passed for Englishmen, and were thought to be so

by the authorities. But they even went further than the mere violation of the treaty, and the opposition offered to the officers, for they actually had the indiscretion and presumption to attempt to *explain away* the stipulations of the treaty, in a way that could not fail to awaken the alarm and mistrust of the Chinese government, and kindle the indignation of every man who is interested in maintaining satisfactory relations with a government who, up to this moment, have scrupulously adhered to their engagements since the peace of Nankin.

Sir Henry Pottinger thought it incumbent on him to advise the viceroy and lieutenant-governor of Canton, that these individuals were not Englishmen, and to express his hope that in future the local mandarins would seize and confine all those who might commit the smallest infraction of the treaty, (if British subjects) and send them to the nearest English consular officer, to be dealt with as might be found necessary, in order to enforce implicit obedience.

The justice of this will be self-evident; but it is also to be remembered that English authority can only be exercised over British subjects, and that, as all European nations are to have access to the five ports if desired, many difficulties may arise which are beyond their control. But it is evidently our first duty, not only rigidly to adhere to the provisions of the treaty ourselves, but to do all in our power to *strengthen* the government of China, and to uphold its authority in the eyes of all foreign nations, as well as of its own people.

The last point to which I think it necessary to allude

is the mutual surrender of criminals, so that English offenders who may take refuge in China may be given up to our consular officers by the Chinese authorities, and Chinese offenders who may take refuge at Hong Kong, or on board our ships, may be given up to the Chinese officers. This stipulation has already been acted upon at Hong Kong, where a party of pirates who were chased ashore by the Chinese government cruisers were instantly seized by the police, and handed over to the proper Chinese officers.

In fact, the more we reflect upon the position in which we now stand in presence of the Chinese government, and in the actual possession of an island upon its frontiers, the more we must become impressed with the vast responsibility which attaches to all our proceedings, and the great necessity which exists for the utmost caution, prudence, judgment, and firmness, on the part of every public officer employed in our service in that country. Little more need be said at present respecting Hong Kong, the future history of which must be pregnant with matter of yearly increasing interest.

I have reserved all mention of the terrific storms to which the island is occasionally exposed during the summer season. Our squadron, after its return from Canton, was exposed to the full fury of one of these hurricanes, while it lay in the harbour of Hong Kong, previously to our advance upon Amoy. The Chinese, although ignorant of the use of the barometer, acquire from experience a tolerably accurate knowledge of the indications which determine the approach of these dreaded typhoons.

Unfortunately, Victoria Bay lies fully exposed to the whole fury of the tempest from its beginning to its end; there is no shelter whatever on that side of the island. It is a curious and novel sight to watch the preparations which the Chinese make for the approaching storm; the mixture of superstitious observance and prudent precaution which they adopt, either in the hope of averting the threatening tempest, or of securing themselves against its immediate effects. The sultry, oppressive feeling of the atmosphere, the deep black clouds, and other indications, warn them to be prepared; and, from the noise and excitement which soon take place among the Chinese, one would rather imagine they were celebrating some festival of rejoicing, than deprecating the fury of the gods. Many of their houses, on these occasions, are decorated with lanterns stuck upon long poles twenty or thirty feet high, huge grotesque-looking figures, and various devices. The beating of gongs, the firing of crackers, and explosion of little bamboo petards, from one end of the town to the other, and in all the boats along the shore, create such a din and confusion, that a stranger cannot help feeling that there must be danger at hand, of some kind or other, besides that of a storm.

It is also a curious sight to watch the hundreds of boats and junks getting under weigh at the same moment, all eager to get across to the opposite shore, under shelter of the mainland, as fast as possible, knowing full well that they would be certainly stranded if they remained on the Hong Kong side. In the high stern of every junk stands a man, who perseveringly beats a large suspended gong with his utmost strength, while the rest

of the crew appear quite as intent upon firing off crackers as upon the management of their boat. By this means they hope to awaken their tutelary god, and to induce him to listen to their prayers for succour. The greater part of them take refuge in a bay directly opposite Victoria, from which it is about four miles distant, under the lee of the mountains on that side.

Frequently all the threatening appearances which call forth these preparations pass off without producing a typhoon. The flashes of lightning are fearfully quick and brilliant; the peals of thunder are almost deafening; the huge black clouds hang gloomily over the mountains, or are banded across from one side to the other, pouring their waters in torrents upon the basin between them. In this way the storm at length subsides, and the horrors of a typhoon are averted.

The actual typhoon is of a very different description; in fact, it differs in no respect from the worst hurricanes which visit the Mauritius or the West Indies. Hong Kong was visited in this way on the 21st and 26th July, 1841, and a more severe typhoon than that which took place on the first of those days is perhaps never experienced. The theory of these circular storms has been well laid down by Colonel Reid and others; so that in the present day a vessel caught in them at sea would be much less exposed to danger than formerly, provided her captain had made himself master of the well-confirmed theories which have been propounded upon the subject. The sphere of their operation is very limited, neither do they occur every year, but seldom oftener than every three or four years.

At Hong Kong various ominous appearances were the forerunner of the storm on the occasion alluded to. For some days previously, large black masses of clouds appeared to settle upon the hills on either side; the atmosphere was extremely sultry and oppressive; the most vivid lightning shot incessantly along the dense, threatening clouds, and looked the more brilliant, because the phenomena were always most remarkable at night, while during the day the threatening appearances were moderated considerably, and sometimes almost entirely disappeared. The vibrations of the mercury in the barometer were constant and rapid; and, although it occasionally rose, still the improvement was only temporary, and upon the average it continued to fall. A typhoon was therefore confidently predicted, and the more so, because none had occurred for several years.

The Chinese on this occasion made every preparation in their power; but that comprised very little except the everlasting firing of crackers and beating of gongs; although they endeavoured also to get shelter for their boats in the best way they could. Our own ships prepared for the coming danger as well as circumstances permitted, every thing being made as snug as possible. But the whole harbour was at this time crowded with transports, store-ships, and merchant-ships, in addition to our men-of-war and steamers; indeed, so close were they anchored together, that in many cases there was not even room to veer cable. It was evident to all, that if the expected typhoon should burst upon them, the most serious disasters would inevitably take place.

It was not without many misgivings and forebodings

that, in the midst of all the preparations for the storm, and when there was every indication of its immediate outbreak, a small schooner was observed to get under weigh, and stand out of the harbour towards Macao; she had treasure on board, and one or two passengers. Alas! she was never afterwards heard of; not a vestige of her was ever discovered; she must have foundered at sea, at the very commencement of the storm.

During the night of the 20th, the weather was tolerably calm, but ominously sultry; towards daylight on the 21st it became squally, with heavy rain, and a good deal of swell was now getting up in the harbour. The barometer continued gradually to fall, and the squalls became heavier. The typhoon could no longer be doubted; and, as it was desirable to move the Nemesis as much to windward of the other ships as possible, steam was got up quickly, and with some difficulty she was moved to a good berth on the opposite side, under shelter of the high land above Cowloon. Topmasts were lowered, and every thing made snug, and she was brought up with both bowers, open hawse, to the N. E., and veered to a whole cable on each.

Between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, the wind was blowing very hard from the northward, or directly upon the shore of Hong Kong, and continued to increase in heavy squalls hour after hour. Ships were already beginning to drive, and the work of destruction had commenced on every side; the Chinese junks and boats were blown about in all directions, and one of them was seen to founder with all hands on board. The fine basin of Hong Kong was gradually covered with scat-

tered wrecks of the war of elements; planks, spars, broken boats, and human beings, clinging hopelessly for succour to every treacherous log, were tossed about on every side; the wind howled and tore every thing away before it, literally sweeping the face of the waters.

On shore, the hospital was one of the first buildings blown down upon the heads of the unfortunate inmates, wounding many, and aggravating the sufferings of all; yet only one man, a helpless idiot, was killed. No exertion was spared to bring assistance to the unfortunate sick, and to drag them forth from the scene of their misfortunes. But, alas! in every quarter aid was necessary; the buildings being merely of temporary construction, most of them partly built of bamboo, barracks and all came tumbling down like children's card-houses.

From half-past ten until two the hurricane was at its highest, the barometer at this time having descended to nearly 28°, 50′, according to some, but on board the Nemesis it was never lower than 28°, 89′. The air was filled with spray and salt, so that it was impossible to see any thing that was not almost close at hand; the wind roared and howled fearfully, so that it was impossible to hear a word that was said. Ships were now drifting foul of each other in all directions; masts were being cut away; and, from the strength of the wind forcing the sea high upon the shore, several ships were driven high and dry.

The native Chinese were all distracted, imploring their gods in vain for help. Such an awful scene of destruction and ruin is rarely witnessed; and almost every one was so busy in thinking of his own safety, as to be una-

ble to render assistance to any one else. Hundreds of Chinese were drowned, and occasionally a whole family, children and all, floated past the ships, clinging, in apparent apathy (perhaps under the influence of opium), to the last remnants of their shattered boats, which soon tumbled to pieces, and left them to their fate.

During the height of the typhoon, the engines of the Nemesis were kept going at half-speed, and she rode through it very easy, without suffering any damage. But even those few vessels which did not drive were in constant danger of being run foul of by others which did; in fact, crowded as the bay was with shipping, it was a matter of wonder that even more serious damage was not done than actually did occur. The heaviest part of the typhoon appears certainly to have passed directly over Hong Kong, for even at Macao, which is only thirty-five miles distant, it was much less severely felt, and, moreover, there was a difference of nearly four hours in the time of its occurrence; nevertheless, beyond Hong Kong the typhoon was also very severely felt, and several ships were in the greatest danger.

It is a remarkable fact, that both our Plenipotentiaries, Captain Elliot and Sir Gordon Bremer, (who has recently returned) were wrecked on this occasion, and were only saved, as it were, by a miracle. They were on their way to Hong Kong, in Captain Elliot's cutter, the Louisa, when the typhoon, already commencing, compelled them to anchor in not a very favourable berth, under one of the numerous islands at the mouth of the Canton river. Every measure was resorted to which good seamanship could suggest, to give any chance of safety to the little

vessel, but all in vain. She soon drove—her spars and masts were carried away—a heavy, tumbling sea broke over her, washing every thing overboard—the destruction of the vessel, and the loss of every one on board, seemed to be inevitable. Fragments of the numerous wrecks along the coast were floating past them every moment. Having been driven from the island under which they first took shelter, they were carried before the wind for the distance of from two to three miles, expecting every moment to be swallowed up; the commander had been already washed overboard. At length they caught sight of land right ahead, with a heavy surf breaking on it, apparently almost close to them. The suspense at this moment was intense and awful. If the vessel touched the surf, they would be launched into eternity in a moment. But, providentially, as if they were specially ordained to be reserved for a better fate, the little cutter cleared the breakers, almost within reach of their spray. The anchor was now let go, but could not hold the little craft, so heavily did the sea break over her; and at length she was driven full upon the shore, where she instantly bilged and filled. Some people now jumped overboard, others crawled on to the nearest rocks, but at length all hands got safely on shore, with the assistance of a rope, which one of the boys who had succeeded in swimming ashore made fast to one of the rocks. Thus, twenty-three human beings were miraculously saved from what appeared to be certain and inevitable destruction, and "from perils which men doubtless sometimes witness, but seldom live to recount; and there was not a man amongst us, says one

who was present, who (thoughtless though sailors be) did not offer a fervent prayer of thanksgiving to his God."

Besides the Plenipotentiaries, Lord Amelius Beauclerk and one or two other gentlemen were partakers of these disasters. There is little doubt that they all owed their preservation, under Providence, to the admirable seamanship and cool presence of mind of Captain Elliot himself, who took command of the little vessel during the most trying period, and whose accurate knowledge of the coast was of essential service.

Their troubles, however, were not yet at an end. They managed to save very little provisions or clothing from the wreck; and the only place they could discover, in which they could shelter themselves for the night, was a large fissure in the side of a precipice, open at the top, with a small mountain-stream running through the centre of it. There they anxiously awaited the dawn of morning, in a sitting posture (for they could not lie down), and drenched to the skin. Soon after daylight they discovered two Chinamen, who came down to pillage the wreck; and several dead bodies of Chinamen were found cast up upon the shore. After some hesitation and difficulty, a bargain was at length made to convey Captain Elliot, for one thousand dollars, to Macao, in a fishing-boat; but, shortly afterwards, another party of Chinese fishermen, coming up from a neighbouring village, commenced robbing all the shipwrecked people, stripping them of their clothes, and, among other things, getting possession of a star of the Hanoverian Guelphic Order. In a short time, the demand for conveying Cap-

tain Elliot to Macao, as soon as the weather would permit, was raised to two thousand dollars, which was agreed to.

Yet difficulties seemed to multiply hourly; for, at this juncture, some of the Chinese, having found two or three bodies of their countrymen lashed to spars, and dreadfully lacerated by being dashed against the rocks until they were lifeless, took it for granted that this had been done purposely by Captain Elliot and his party, and for some time their threatening gestures and angry looks of retaliation seemed to portend bloodshed. This was, however, at length averted; and ultimately, after agreeing to pay upwards of three thousand dollars, Captain Elliot, Sir Gordon Bremer, and two other persons, were laid upon their backs, in the bottom of a boat, and carefully covered over with mats. Scarcely, however, had they fairly got away from the island, when another misfortune threatened to consign them to the most bitter fate. An armed mandarin-boat passed close by them, and hailed the Chinese boatmen, asking for news about the wrecks. What a prize was at this moment within their grasp! No less than twenty thousand dollars had been already offered as a reward for the capture either of Captain Elliot or Sir Gordon Bremer. Had the boatmen been treacherous enough to betray their charge (and Captain Elliot was personally known to them), what a grand display Her Majesty's two Plenipotentiaries would have made in Pekin, carried about in bamboo cages, like wild beasts! What proclamations and boastings! What promotions and rewards! But, happily, this was not to be; and, in a

few hours, the party landed safely in the inner harbour of Macao; Captain Elliot having for his costume a jacket, without any shirt; the Commodore, a blue worsted frock; and each of them a pair of striped trowsers. To crown all, in this unhappy plight, the moment the two high functionaries were recognized by the Portuguese officer of the guard, the latter were ordered to " turn out," as a mark of *respect;* but were soon induced to defer it until a more fitting opportunity.

Boats were now sent off, without delay, together with an interpreter, in order to rescue the other sufferers; and at last they all arrived safely in Macao, on the 25th of July.

But it is time to return from this digression to the harbour of Hong Kong, just at the time when the height of the typhoon had passed over. Towards noon, the wind veered round a little to the southward of east; at two p. m., it began to moderate; and at three p. m., its severity had past. Before sunset, the haze began to clear off a little, and gradually the scene of devastation became more and more visible, and presented such a frightful spectacle, that you could hardly believe that it was the same harbour of Hong Kong, which had been recently so gay and tranquil, with crowds of shipping upon the smooth surface of its waters. The shore was covered with wrecks and stranded boats, and the temporary buildings on shore had disappeared altogether.

Many of our ships were now found to be missing, having been driven out to sea during the fury of the gale. Among the latter was H. M. schooner, Starling,

about which great apprehensions were entertained. It was feared that she might have foundered, with all hands on board.

On the following morning, at daylight, the Nemesis was ordered to go out and render assistance to any vessels in distress, and to bring off people from the wrecks; and particularly to look out for the Starling, in case she should have gone on shore upon any of the neighbouring islands. No time was to be lost. In every direction immediate assistance was required, and many poor fellows were rescued by the Nemesis from a watery grave.

It was curious to remark how completely every vessel that had gone on shore was torn to pieces, and in so short a space of time; every part of them was broken up, and the fragments were floating about the harbour and lining the shores on every side, above high-water mark. A number of artillerymen and sappers were taken off the wreck of one of our prize war-junks which had gone on shore; and the whole crew of the Prince George merchant ship were likewise saved from one of the neighbouring islands upon which they had been wrecked; but the captain of the vessel refused to leave the island, where he vainly persisted in seeking for the body of his unfortunate wife, who was drowned when first the vessel struck.

Not being able to gain any tidings of the Starling, the Nemesis proceeded on through the Capsingmoon passage, towards Lintin, in the hope that she might have taken refuge under that island. Fortunately, she was now descried beating up gallantly through the passage towards Hong Kong, and, as soon as the steamer

ran alongside, there was a general cheer of congratulation. The tale was very soon told. During the height of the typhoon, the Starling had parted a cable, and, as she was now drifting fast, Captain Kellett at once slipped the other, in the hope of being able to run through the Capsingmoon passage, as his only chance of safety. With very great exertion and good seamanship, he fortunately succeeded in the attempt, even in the midst of the typhoon, and had even managed to lie-to and pick up some unfortunate Chinamen, who were floating past him upon the wreck of their shattered junk. At length he succeeded in getting under the lee of the island of Lintin, where he brought up with a common boat's anchor, having a couple of guns fastened to the cable. By the aid of this contrivance he rode out the gale, until it moderated sufficiently for him to get under weigh, and attempt to return to Hong Kong. The Nemesis, however, now took the Starling in tow, and great was the surprise and joy of every one at Hong Kong when the two vessels were seen standing in together in safety.

In this typhoon, H. M. S. Sulphur, Algerine, Royalist, and the schooner, Hebe, were dismasted; and at least twenty merchant vessels and transports were either driven ashore or were dismasted, and suffered other injuries.

Five days afterwards, on the 26th, there was a recurrence of the typhoon, which the Nemesis rode out very easily in the Typa anchorage at Macao; but it was not so severe as the first one, and comparatively little injury was caused by it. There is reason to believe also, that, had all the ships at Hong Kong been moored in proper

berths, and early precautions taken, before the commencement of the first typhoon, the danger and the damage inflicted would have been much less severe.

No time was lost in refitting the ships, and preparations were now hastened for the advance of our forces upon Amoy, and for pushing on our operations further northward, while the favourable season lasted. Sir Gordon Bremer had returned from Calcutta, in the Queen steamer, on the 18th of June, having been invested with the functions of Joint-Plenipotentiary, in conjunction with Captain Elliot. This high honour was, however, of short duration; for, on the 9th of August, Sir Henry Pottinger arrived from England, viâ Bombay, having been appointed sole Plenipotentiary and Chief-Superintendent of trade in China: he was accompanied by Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, by whom all the subsequent naval operations were conducted.

CHAPTER XXVI.

AMOY.

Arrival of reinforcements—Sir Henry Pottinger's first proclamation—Announcement to the authorities at Canton—His refusal to see the Prefect—Dismay of the great man in consequence—Good effect upon the Chinese—Preparations of Sir William Parker for advance upon Amoy—Departure of the fleet from Hong Kong—Captain Elliot and Sir Gordon Bremer leave for England—Notices of Amoy—Situation and appearance of the town—Description of its defences—Their great extent—Island of Kolingsoo—Attempts to negociate—Reply of the Plenipotentiary—General order of Sir Hugh Gough—Orders against plundering—Attack commences 26th of August—Positions of ships against the batteries—Landing of the troops—Party from the Nemesis joins the advanced guard of the 18th—Captain Hall the first upon the walls—Personal combat—The long fort captured—Kolingsoo taken—Accident to the Nemesis—Occupation of the city on the 27th—Curious scenes—Boldness of Chinese plunderers—Evidences of infanticide—Harassing duties—Tiger soldiers—Description of Kolingsoo—American missionaries—Remarks on the prospect of OPENING CHINA BY MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE—Errors to be guarded against—Garrison left on Kolingsoo—Our troops quit Amoy—Re-embarkation.

Not long after our forces had withdrawn from Canton, the Emperor of China issued one of his peculiar proclamations, to the effect that "the imperial troops had now been sent with songs of triumph to their homes,

and the deceptions and mistakes of both parties were therefore to be forgotten." He, probably, little expected that the so-called "songs of triumph" would so soon be converted into the wailings of lamentation. Such, however, was soon to be the case.

At the end of July, the H. C. steamer, Phlegethon, Lieutenant M'Cleverty, nearly the exact counterpart of the Nemesis, arrived at Hong Kong, bringing the intelligence that Captain Elliot's treaty of Chuenpee had been disapproved of by the home government, and that Sir Henry Pottinger had been appointed to succeed him, as sole Plenipotentiary. Shortly before this, also, her Majesty's 55th regiment had arrived from Calcutta, and everything indicated that a movement upon Amoy would take place as soon as possible, after the expected arrival of Sir Henry Pottinger as Plenipotentiary, and Sir William Parker as Admiral. The season for active operations was already advanced, and even for the sake of the health of the troops, it was the anxious wish of all the officers that a change of some sort or other might speedily take place.

In the afternoon of the 10th of August, the arrival of the H. C. steamer Sesostris, from Bombay, in the Macao roads, was announced, and great was the joy of every one when it was made known that both Sir Henry Pottinger and Sir William Parker were on board. They had come from London in the wonderfully short period of sixty-seven days, ten of which had been spent in Bombay.

At daylight, next morning, the Nemesis went out to convey these high functionaries from the Sesostris, in

the roads, to the town of Macao, where they were received with every demonstration of respect, under a salute from the Portuguese forts. A conference was held in the course of the morning, between Captain Elliot and Sir Henry Pottinger, together with the Admiral and Sir Hugh Gough. Energetic measures appeared to be at once resolved on. Sir William Parker went over to visit the fleet at Hong Kong, and as soon as visits of ceremony had been exchanged between the new Plenipotentiary and the Portuguese authorities, Sir Henry Pottinger lost no time in publishing the notification of his appointment, as Minister Extraordinary and sole Plenipotentiary, and also as Chief Superintendent of trade in China. He further intimated to the foreign community that it was "his intention to devote his undivided energies and thoughts to the primary object of securing a speedy and satisfactory close of the war, and that he therefore could allow no consideration connected with mercantile pursuits, and other interests, to interfere with the strong measures which he might deem necessary to adopt towards the government and subjects of China, with a view to compel an honourable and lasting peace. At the same time, he warned all British subjects, that if they put either themselves or their property in the power of the Chinese authorities, during the present unsettled state of things, it must be clearly understood to be at their own *risk and peril.*"

In order to communicate officially to the Chinese authorities the fact of his arrival, and the nature of his powers, Sir Henry now despatched his secretary, Major

Malcolm, to Canton, as the bearer of letters to the provincial government. The Nemesis was, as usual, employed to carry the officers up the river. No little sensation was created among the Chinese officials, by the announcement which was now made to them. They therefore resolved to welcome the Plenipotentiary with all ceremony; and probably, also, in the hope of being able to form some estimate of his character, they despatched the prefect of the city, or Kwang-Chow-Foo, on the 18th, to Macao, with a numerous retinue. He landed at Macao, upon the Praya Grande, near the governor's palace, attended by a great number of followers, and proceeded in state to the residence of the Plenipotentiary, thinking, no doubt, that he was conferring a great honour upon his Excellency, and that he would accordingly be received with every mark of distinction. Alas, how are the mighty fallen! The ceremonious Prefect was not even *received*. He, who had hitherto been courted as an officer of distinction, and had been the medium of communication, and in some sort the ambassador, between the high Chinese authorities and Captain Elliot, was now absolutely *rejected*. Sir Henry Pottinger, acting with an intimate knowledge of the oriental character, and fully impressed with the high duties he was called upon to perform, and the high station he had to maintain as her Majesty's representative, declined to receive or hold any direct intercourse with an officer inferior to himself in rank and responsibility, and still less with one of comparatively inferior grade, such as the Prefect of Canton.

Major Malcolm, the secretary of legation, was, how-

ever, deputed to receive the Prefect; and, after a short interview, the would-be great man withdrew, and returned in some dismay to Canton, to report the circumstances to his superiors. The sensation created by this little characteristic incident was very remarkable. The Chinese of all classes, from the Viceroy to the Hong merchants, and down to their clerks and attendants, were thoroughly taken by surprise. They could hardly believe that the Prefect had been rejected, and therefore jumped to the very laudable and truly eastern conclusion that the new Plenipotentiary must be a very great man indeed, a much greater man than Captain Elliot, and of course invested with higher powers. It became the subject of conversation in every quarter, and tended to awaken much greater respect for the dignity of the new Plenipotentiary. The same cautious and dignified bearing was maintained with the greatest advantage throughout the whole of our subsequent proceedings.

At Hong Kong the most active preparations were now being made for the immediate departure of the expedition. Excellent arrangements were introduced by Sir William Parker, for the proper guidance of the fleet, and especially for the distribution and management of the numerous transports and store ships. The advantage of this systematic regularity soon became evident; and it is deserving of notice that, from this period until the close of the war, the transport service was conducted with the utmost regularity and efficiency, in spite of the endless difficulties arising out of our imperfect knowledge of the coast of China, and the in-

accuracy of most of the charts. Add to this, that owing to sickness and other causes, the transports were often under-manned, and had frequently the most arduous duties to perform.

It redounds to the credit of the mercantile marine of this country, and says much for the judicious arrangements of the admiral and all the officers under him, that so few accidents occurred up to the close of the war. The passage of the fleet up the Yang-tze river will be described in its place; but it is not too much here to remark that, considering the intricate navigation of the river, the rapidity of its current, and the very imperfect knowledge of its difficulties, which we possessed, the conducting of so large a fleet, without any serious accident, up to Nankin and back again, was perhaps the most striking event of a naval character which occurred during the war.

By a general order of the 19th of August, issued only nine days after the arrival of the admiral, the fleet was directed to be ready to put to sea at daylight on the 21st. It was to be formed in three divisions, the centre commanded by Captain Herbert, in the Blenheim, assisted by Commander Clarke, of the Columbine; the starboard division, under Captain Bourchier, in the Blonde, assisted by Commander Gifford, in the Cruiser; while the 2nd, or port division, was placed under Captain Smith, of the Druid, assisted by Commander Anson, of the Pylades. It was, moreover, directed that a boat should be held in constant readiness on board each transport, to assist in towing the ships clear of each other in the event of calms, and that no boat should be

allowed to pass from one ship to the other, at sea, without permission from the admiral or the senior officer of the division.

The whole fleet consisted of thirty-six sail, including transports, namely, two line-of-battle ships, the Wellesley and the Blenheim; seven other ships of war, namely, the Modeste, Druid, Columbine, Blonde, Pylades, Cruiser, and Algerine; the Rattlesnake troop-ship, and the Bentinck surveying-vessel; four steamers, belonging to the East India Company, namely, the Queen, Phlegethon, Nemesis, and Sesostris; and twenty-one hired transports and store-ships, most of them of large size, several of not less than a thousand tons burden. The force stationed in the neighbourhood of the Canton river comprised five or six vessels of war, including the Herald and Alligator, and was under the command of Captain Nias, senior officer.

Early on the morning of the 21st, the fleet got under weigh; but it was some time before things could be brought to settle down a little on board the transports, in which various changes in the arrangement of the troops had been made. Sir Henry Pottinger came over from Macao in The Queen on that day, just as the fleet had sailed; and, as he stopped some time at Hong Kong to inspect the place, and examine the various arrangements which had already been made, he did not join the admiral until the following day. The general rendezvous, in case of separation, was to be Chapel Island, not far from Amoy. The weather was extremely favourable during the whole passage up, and, on the 25th, the whole squadron reached the outer harbour of

Amoy, having preserved the order of sailing remarkably well throughout.

The late plenipotentiaries, Captain Elliot and Sir Gordon Bremer, sailed from Hong Kong, and finally took leave of China, three days after the departure of the expedition, on board the Atalanta steamer, which had become completely knocked up by her work in the Canton river. Their intention was to proceed as quickly as possible to England by way of Bombay.

The distance of Amoy from Hong Kong is scarcely three hundred miles, and there were many good grounds for making it the first point of attack, as the expedition proceeded northward. It will be remembered that the Blonde frigate had been compelled, in the first expedition, to chastise the authorities of Amoy for their insolent and hostile bearing, and that this little affair was immediately represented to the Emperor as a great victory gained by them in driving off the barbarian ships; that, a very short time after this, the Alligator had also been compelled to inflict similar chastisement. Besides this, however, it must be remembered that, in former times, the English had been allowed the privilege of trading at Amoy, and that, at the present day, many of the enterprising merchants of this thriving town resort, for purposes of trade, to Singapore; and that the people generally were well acquainted with the English character, and favourable to their institutions. It could not be doubted, therefore, that the capture of this flourishing commercial city would be seriously felt by the Chinese government. The authorities had, within the last twelve months, spent enormous sums of money and in-

credible labour in the construction of batteries, which they deemed impregnable, and which were certainly capable of being stoutly defended.

The harbour of Amoy is situated in the south-western corner of an island of the same name, which, together with another called Quemoy, occupies a considerable portion of a large bay, in which, however, there are also numerous smaller islands. Of these the most interesting, in connexion with our present subject, is that of Kolingsoo, which is separated from Amoy by a narrow passage, leading directly up to the harbour. In fact, the possession of this island, which we still retain, gives us the complete command of Amoy itself, or rather of its town and suburbs.

The scenery within the bay and about the town of Amoy is exceedingly picturesque, the appearance of the country being very mountainous and striking. Several considerable rivers pour their waters into the bay, and facilitate the communications with the interior of the country. The superiority of the harbour much exceeded the expectations of the officers.

The town of Amoy, although possessed of great commercial importance, and very wealthy, is by no means a first-class city; it ranks, indeed, only as a principal third-class town; but its inhabitants are exceedingly enterprising and intelligent, and are remarkable for a certain disposition for emigration and colonization, as well as for their love of commerce. They were the principal colonizers of the flourishing island of Formosa, which lies opposite Amoy, extending itself along the coast for a distance of little less than two hundred

miles; and they are to be found in great numbers in more remote islands, subject even to foreign dominion, such as Java, Singapore, Manilla, &c.

The city and suburbs of Amoy can hardly be less than eight or ten miles in circumference, and they are in a great degree commanded by a fortified hill or citadel in the rear, which, however, is again commanded (as is very commonly the case in China) by unfortified heights beyond it to the eastward. The suburbs, or outer town, are separated from the principal or inner town by a line of steep, rocky hills, which run transversely down to the beach; but a paved road, or narrow causeway, leads into the city, through a pass which is protected by a covered gateway at its summit. As there is, therefore, what may be called a double town, so is there also a sort of double harbour, the outer one running along the face of the outer town, and the inner one extending along the front of the principal town, and joining a large estuary, which runs deep into the island across its centre, and skirts the northern side of the city. In this manner, nearly two-thirds of the city of Amoy are washed by the sea. In fact, it stands upon a corner or tongue of land, having a line of bold mountains in its rear and on its flank. The walls are castellated at top, and vary in height, according to the nature of the ground, from twenty to thirty feet. There are also, as in other places, four principal gates, having each an outwork or outer wall, with a court or open space between them, and a second gate leading from this, and placed at right angles to the inner one, so that the approach to it from the outside is commanded by the principal wall of the town.

The citadel of Amoy was afterwards found to contain a large supply of military accoutrements—ginjals, matchlocks, swords, shields, and spears of all kinds; there was also an immense quantity of gunpowder, and materials for making it; in short, there was every reason to believe that Amoy had been made use of as the great military depôt of the province.

It is impossible to form even a tolerable estimate of the number of troops collected for the defence of the place, but the different accounts which were received varied from six thousand to eight or ten thousand men. It was also known that the high officers of the province had come down to Amoy purposely to encourage the defence, and to witness, as they hoped, the utter discomfiture of the barbarians. It was, however, upon their newly-constructed works that they placed their great reliance.

Numerous forts and field-works had been erected upon nearly all the smaller islands which stretch across the mouth of the great bay; and upon the island of Amoy itself a succession of batteries and field-works had been built, to command the approach to the town. The principal of these was a long stone battery, well built of granite, *faced with earth*, extending along the shore nearly up to the suburbs of the city, and designed to command the passage to the harbour. It presented a line of guns a full mile in length, the embrasures being covered with large slabs of stone protected by earth heaped upon them, and mounting no less than ninety-six guns. In the rear of this battery there was a range of steep, rocky heights, up the side of which the Chinese had carried a

strong castellated wall, to serve as a flanking defence to the battery.

Still further to defend the approaches to the city, they had also strongly fortified the little island of Kolingsoo, between which and Amoy the passage is not more than six hundred yards across; this island is, in fact, the key of Amoy, and was retained in our possession when the city and the island of Amoy were restored to the Chinese. At that time, the Chinese had already mounted upon the works, either completed or in progress, no less than seventy-six guns. Indeed, they had spared no labour to endeavour to render Amoy capable of easy defence; although, from want of skill and discipline, the resistance which they offered was comparatively trifling. If the number of guns alone could indicate the strength of a place, the Chinese might have had some grounds for confidence; for, as Sir Hugh Gough remarked, "Every island, every projecting headland, whence guns could be made to bear, was occupied and strongly armed." In fact, there were altogether not less than five hundred guns captured at Amoy and the adjacent islands.

Early on the morning of the 26th of August, every thing was in readiness for the projected attack. The captains and commanders repaired on board the flag-ship for orders; the steamers were all smoking and blowing off their spare steam, and the officers were all anxiously looking for the expected signal to stand in and engage the batteries. Before active operations commenced, however, it was thought right to make a reconnoissance of the defences which were to be attacked. With this

view, Sir Hugh Gough, Sir William Parker, and the Plenipotentiary, stood in on board the Phlegethon, and were able to approach sufficiently close to the works to observe all that was necessary, without having a single shot fired at them.

In the mean time, a messenger, supposed to be a Chinese merchant, came off from the town, under a flag of truce, requesting to know the object of the visit of so large and formidable a squadron. The answer to this question was simple enough, and was sent in the name of the Plenipotentiary, the General, and the Admiral, to the effect that "they required that the demands made last year at Tientsin (near Pekin), by Captain Elliot, should be complied with; and that hostile measures would, if necessary, be adopted to enforce them. Nevertheless, that, as the Plenipotentiary and the Commanders-in-Chief were moved by compassionate feelings, and were unwilling to cause the death of so many officers and soldiers as must perish, they were willing to allow all the officers and troops in the town to retire with their personal arms and baggage, in order to save the people from being hurt; upon condition that the town and fortifications of Amoy should be at once delivered into the hands of the British forces, to be held for the present by them." A white flag was to be exhibited from the fortifications, if these terms were acceded to; otherwise, hostilities would commence. As might be expected, the white flag was *not* displayed.

The morning was very hot and sultry; but, about one o'clock, a steady, favourable breeze set in, and the squadron got under weigh. The plan was, to make a

simultaneous attack upon all the batteries at once, both against those upon Amoy and those upon Kolingsoo. The troops were also to be landed, with the object of taking the batteries in the rear; and the Nemesis and Phlegethon steamers were to be employed to convey them to the appointed place of debarkation.

The ships were likely to bear the chief brunt of the engagement; but Sir Hugh Gough made every disposition for the employment of the land forces, and his general order, issued just before the attack was to take place, deserves especial notice. He directed his remarks very strongly to the question of plundering; and observed that, "as Amoy was a large commercial port, and there had once been an English factory there, it was highly important that no act should be committed which could tend to embarrass our future friendly intercourse. The government and the military were to be overcome, and public property taken possession of, under certain instructions, but *private property* was to be held inviolable; and that which in England," observed the General, "obtains the name of robbery, deserves no better name in China." The camp-followers were made liable to be *put to death* for plundering; and orders were issued to punish on the spot any man straggling from his corps.

This alone will suffice to point out that the expedition was very far from possessing that buccaneering character which some persons, particularly foreigners, attempted to cast upon it. Indeed, it may safely be asserted that war was never carried on with so little infliction of suffering upon the people generally as in

China. Generally speaking, the people soon learnt to appreciate our motives; and, unless prevented by their *own officers*, they commonly showed a friendly, or, at all events, a neutral feeling towards us. Besides the English, the privilege of trading at Amoy was formerly held by the Spanish also; and, at no very remote period, a regular intercourse was kept up between Amoy and the Spanish colony of Manilla.

It was probable that the nature of the country round Amoy would render brigade movements inadmissible; but the troops were to be prepared to form in three brigades, if necessary. The men were to land in jackets, caps, and coats folded; and were to carry, each man, one day's cooked provisions. The artillery were to be in readiness to land their light, mountain guns.

About half-past one, the attack commenced on our side; but the Chinese had already begun the engagement, by firing occasional shots at our ships, as they proceeded with a steady and favourable breeze to their respective stations. The Sesostris and Queen steamers led in; the former commencing the action, but receiving a heavy fire before she returned it. The line-of-battle ships, Wellesley and Blenheim, under Captains Maitland and Herbert, proceeded to the extremity of the long stone-battery, nearest the suburbs, where they anchored by the stern, about half-past two p.m., within four hundred yards of the works, and at once opened a heavy fire upon the principal battery.

The next in order along the front of these works, from the suburbs towards the outer extremity, were the Pylades, Columbine, Cruiser, and Algerine. Simultane-

ously with this attack upon Amoy, the Blonde, Druid, and Modeste reached their allotted stations, against the works of Kolingsoo; but, owing to the shallowness of the water, they were boldly carried on, in little more than their own draught.

The roar of the artillery on every side, echoed by the mountains around, was now terrific; and, in one hour and twenty minutes, the three principal batteries on Kolingsoo were silenced, and the marines under Captain Ellis, about one hundred and seventy in number, were landed on that island, and took possession of the heights in the rear, without any loss. Three companies of the 26th regiment had also been appointed to this service, but the distance of the transports only permitted a small detachment of them, under Major Johnstone, to land in time to assist in clearing the batteries. The small detachment of the Royal Artillery, under Lieutenant the Hon. R. E. Spencer, were actively employed on board the Blonde, during the attack.

While these operations were being carried on against the batteries on Kolingsoo, and against the long battery on Amoy, the Phlegethon and Nemesis were speedily brought up with the troops ready to land. The Nemesis had taken on board the General and his staff, together with the 18th Royal Irish, under Colonel Adams; and had also to tow up a number of boats, with the sappers and miners, followers, &c. Considerable delay was therefore occasioned by having to run up to the different transports to embark detachments, and also to pick up the boats; and it was not until half-past three that the Nemesis could get into action. She then opened

fire at the long battery with her heavy guns and rockets, as she approached the lower angle of the fort for the purpose of landing the troops.

It was just about this time that, as the Phlegethon was also running up towards the battery, a boat was despatched by Lieutenant M'Cleverty, in which Lieutenant Crawford volunteered his services to capture a small outwork upon a hill, very near the beach; and it was here that the British flag was first displayed upon the enemy's works, on that day, with three cheers from the steamers.

About a quarter before four, the General landed upon the beach, near the flank of the great battery, with the 18th and 49th regiments, which were carried in by the Nemesis and Phlegethon steamers. The disembarkation was conducted by Commander Giffard, of the Cruiser. The 18th was directed to escalade the castellated wall which flanked the battery; and, as already described, ran up the hill-side from the beach, nearly at right angles to it. At the same time, the 49th were to move along the beach towards the lower angle of the battery, and either get over it at its sea-face, or force their way through the embrasures.

A smart fire was kept up from the Nemesis, to cover the landing and advance of the troops; and Captain Hall himself, anxious to take an active part in every operation, pushed off from the steamer, in the pinnace manned and armed, accompanied by the unfortunate Mr. Gully, who, as an old and brave friend, volunteered to go with him. This was the same gentleman who afterwards fell a victim to the rapacity and cruelty of the Chinese

authorities on the island of Formosa, upon which he had the misfortune to be wrecked, and, after seven months imprisonment and cruel treatment, was at length executed, together with nearly all his companions.

As soon as Captain Hall and his friend had landed with the pinnace's crew, they joined the advanced guard of the 18th, under Major Tomlinson and Lieutenant Murray, who were advancing towards the lower end of the castellated wall. The Chinese opened a smart fire of ginjalls and matchlocks as they approached, which was returned by the advancing party, who took advantage of the numerous little hillocks and tombs which lay in their way to shelter themselves while they reloaded.

The Chinese, finding their enemy pressing up towards the wall, and being already bewildered by the admirable firing of the ships, now began to slacken their fire. The 18th rushed for the lower end of the wall, while the party from the Nemesis made a dash at its flank, some way higher up near a gateway, where the wall appeared less elevated and more accessible. They had, however, brought no scaling-ladders, and, in order to get over the wall, the men were obliged to be lifted up on each other's backs. In this way Captain Hall managed to get first upon the top of the wall, and instantly waved the British flag, (which on such occasions he always carried with him in his pocket) in token of triumph. Others soon followed; and the Chinese, the moment they saw their enemies upon the walls, fired two or three random shots and fled. At this time also the 18th got over the wall lower down, while the

49th forced their way through the embrasures, just at the angle of the sea-face of the great battery. The fire of the ships had not yet ceased, when the party from the Nemesis got down into the body of the fort, and several of our large shot fell close around them.

A very short distance in advance they now observed that two Chinese officers of high rank, mounted on horseback, were endeavouring to make their escape, surrounded by a numerous body-guard, or retinue. The opportunity for trying to take an important prisoner was a tempting one; and Captain Hall, little thinking how few of his own men were near him, and carried away by the impulse of the moment, rushed headlong upon the Chinese soldiers in front of him, firing off his pistols at the two principal officers. Only two of his own men were near him at the moment; so that one of the inferior Chinese officers, seeing the disparity, rallied a few of his men, and suddenly faced about, with a view to cut them off. A personal encounter now took place with the Chinese officer, who was a remarkably fine young man, bearing the white button. The long sword, however, soon had the advantage over the Chinese short one, even putting aside personal prowess, and the mandarin fell severely wounded in the arm. He was immediately disarmed, and his cap and button, together with his sword, were taken from him as trophies. Several other soldiers now came up, to endeavour to rescue their officer, who got up and tried to escape, but another wound in the leg soon brought him down again, and made the other Chinamen halt.

By this time, Captain Hall and his two men were nearly surrounded, and were compelled to fight their way back again towards their comrades, who were coming up to their aid. One of the two seamen received a severe wound in the groin from the thrust of a spear, but the others got off without any injury. The young wounded mandarin was at last safely carried off by his comrades.

The Chinese were now in full flight in every direction, followed by the 18th, 49th, and a party of small-arm men, who were landed from the Wellesley and Blenheim, some way up the sea-face of the fort, under Commander Fletcher and other officers of those ships. The fort was soon completely in our possession. During all the operations of this day, Sir Henry Pottinger and suite were with the admiral on board the Wellesley.

Within the battery many dead bodies of the Chinese were found, but not a great many wounded, because the soldiers had managed to carry away most of the latter, and even some of the former. The few wounded, however, which were discovered, were relieved as much as they could be for the moment, by placing them where they were sheltered from the burning sun, giving them water, and subsequently by attending to their wounds. The heat and sultriness of the day were still very oppressive, even to those who had been fortunate enough to escape unhurt, but to the wounded it was almost intolerable. The water-carriers of the regiments were here the true guardian angels of every one; and many

a man would have probably been laid up with fever, had he not obtained the timely blessing of a cool draught of water. It was the saving of many of the wounded.

On examining the sea-face of the battery, it was impossible not to be struck with the amazing solidity of the wall. It was composed of hewn granite, faced outside with earth, and of such strength, that the heavy firing of two line of battle-ships against it, at the distance of only four hundred yards, had made very little impression; indeed, it might be said to be shot-proof. The embrasures were something like low port-holes, covered with stone and earth, and in the space between them were sheds, or a sort of temporary watch-boxes, in which was found a quantity of arms of every kind, clothes, half-cooked food, and also *opium*, with the common pipes used for smoking it. A horse also was found. The guns were many of them very ill-mounted, and in general the carriages were badly contrived, and often defective. In some places you saw bags of sand placed upon the top of the guns, to prevent them from jumping out of the carriages altogether. The fort had evidently been armed hastily.

Several high Chinese officers fell during this day; some probably by their own hands. One of them very quietly rushed into the water and drowned himself, although, in the report of the affair to the Emperor, it was afterwards stated, that he "rushed on to drive back the assailants as they landed, and *fell into the water* and died." This officer was the Chinese Commodore, who commanded in the absence of the *Admiral*. This officer

had left the port just before our arrival, (boasting that he was going to *meet* the barbarians) and, having sailed northward, could not get back again, owing to the contrary wind.

Before five o'clock, the whole of the outer defences of Amoy were in our possession. The Blonde and Modeste, as soon as they had silenced the batteries on Kolingsoo, with the assistance of the Druid, had pushed on into the inner harbour, and captured twenty-six war-junks, mounting not less than one hundred and twenty-eight guns; they were nearly ready for sea, but were deserted by their crews. A large building-yard was discovered, with an immense quantity of timber collected in it; and there was a good-sized frigate-junk, of about three hundred tons, in course of building, in a regular dry dock, something after the European model; they had evidently made a great step in advance in the art of ship-building: indeed, the longer the war lasted, the more the Chinese found themselves led on, by the "impulse of necessity," to attempt great changes, and, in many respects, improvements, not only in their vessels, but in their warlike weapons, and other matters relating to the art of defence.

The 55th regiment was unfortunately deprived, through accidental circumstances, of an opportunity of taking part in the day's work. Owing to calms in the early part of the morning, which delayed the attack, and partly to the distance of the numerous transports from which the troops had to be brought, it was late in the afternoon before the Nemesis could proceed to take on board the 55th regiment. At this time, the usual sea-breeze had

set in, throwing up a good deal of swell, which rolled into the bay, and rendered the trans-shipment of troops more tedious, so that the 55th regiment were not landed until the following morning.

The Nemesis, in running along the shore to avoid the swell which was setting in, unexpectedly found herself within a circular patch of coral rock, which was not visible above the surface. Several fruitless attempts were made to extricate her from this curious position, but the entrance by which she had got into it could not again be found; but, her draught of water being very small, it was thought likely she would be able to force her way over the reef without suffering much damage to her iron hull, and she dashed at it at full speed. The blow, however, was more severe than was expected; the vessel bounded completely over the reef; but the sharp coral rock cut completely through her bottom, making a considerable leak in the engine-room. This was fortunately stopped from *the inside* without much difficulty, and no further notice was taken of it until some time afterwards, when she arrived at Chusan, where the damage was substantially repaired. This, among many other instances, will point out the value of iron as a material for small steamers.

In the mean time, Sir Hugh Gough pushed on without delay, to occupy a chain of steep, rocky hills, which, running transversely down to the beach, lay between the great fort and the town, so as to intercept the view of the latter. A strong body of the Chinese seemed disposed to defend this position, which was naturally of great strength, and completely commanded the approach

to the city. Immediate advantage was to be taken of the prevailing panic; and the 18th and 49th regiments being directed to advance partly up a steep gorge, and partly by a more circuitous road leading round the hills, soon made themselves masters of the heights overlooking the city. The Chinese retreated before them as soon as they had fired off their guns and matchlocks. Our troops bivouacked for the night upon the positions they occupied; but they might have been a good deal harassed by the Chinese, if the latter had taken advantage of the rocky, broken character of the ground, to dispute their further advance. The night was bitterly cold upon the heights.

At daylight a reconnoissance was made, and it was soon discovered that little resistance was to be expected. Great confusion and bustle were apparent in all directions; hundreds of the inhabitants were hurrying out of the northern gate, carrying with them their most valuable property; in fact, there was evidently a general panic. Without loss of time, therefore, the 18th, supported by the 49th, were ordered to march down towards the city in the direction of the eastern gate, which was the nearest, while Captain Cotton, the commanding engineer, was directed to examine carefully the approaches to the gate itself.

The advanced party of the 18th, on arriving at the gate, found that there was no preparation for resistance, and soon scaled the walls by means of some ladders which were very opportunely found not far from the gate. Heaps of rubbish, and sacks full of earth and sand, were found piled up inside against the gate, so that some

time was required to get it open. It was now discovered that the authorities and all the soldiers had abandoned the town, leaving every thing in the utmost disorder, so that the only protection which the more respectable and peaceably-inclined inhabitants had to look for, from the violence and plundering of *their own rabble*, was from the presence of our own troops, and the military government of the city by the victorious captors. Already the mob had begun to ransack some of the public establishments before we found out where they were situated; and it was afterwards discovered that a good deal of treasure must have been carried away by the thieves and vagabonds of the town. A number of men were found carrying out of the gates something having the appearance of common logs of wood; and it was not suspected, until too late, that these logs were hollowed out, and filled with Sycee silver, a very ingenious contrivance to escape detection. A small quantity of treasure was found in one of the large buildings, supposed to be the office of the commandant, which was occupied by the sappers and miners.

Most of the public offices were large and roomy buildings, affording good accommodation for a whole regiment of soldiers. The pile of buildings belonging to the Admiral's department was assigned to the 18th and the staff, being within the walled town; while the 49th were quartered in the outer town, in a large building belonging to the office of the Intendant of Circuit. The 55th occupied an extensive range of buildings belonging to the Prefect of Amoy; the artillery

retaining possession of a commanding position overlooking both the city and the outer town.

Late in the day, and also on the following morning, Sir Henry Pottinger and Sir William Parker landed to take a view of the town; but, after visiting the principal buildings, they returned on board ship.

Numerous patrols were found necessary, by day and night, in order to preserve quiet in the public streets, and to check the boldness and rapacity of the swarms of Chinese thieves and rogues, who hovered about like a raging pestilence in every part of the city, and crowded in from the country the moment the respectable inhabitants left the town. The inhabitants themselves were, in many instances, afraid even to defend their own property, or to aid our troops in restoring order and regularity; they dreaded the probable imputation of having traitorously aided the foreigners, and the fear of extortion and punishment from their own authorities at some future period served to disorganize the whole community. In vain did Sir Hugh Gough appeal to the more respectable merchants and householders to aid him in protecting property; all that he could get from them was empty promises, of which they were very liberal, but from which no good result followed. Even within the citadel, or walled town, it was with the utmost difficulty that the daring thieves and vagabonds could be kept in check; and hardly could even a single Chinaman be induced to point out to the guards at the gate the real *bonâ fide* owners of houses or property, in order that they might be allowed free egress and ingress.

The injury which the inhabitants of many Chinese towns suffered during our operations must not be estimated by the actual damage (generally trifling) done by our fire, or by the presence of our troops. In most instances, even before hostilities commenced, the presence of the *Chinese troops*, who were marched in probably from several distant provinces, became almost a scourge to the inhabitants; and afterwards, when a town was taken, and the local government disorganized, much greater damage was done to the property of the people by the low mob of plunderers, than would, under any circumstances, have been allowed by our own victorious soldiers; indeed, some instances occurred in which the former were shot by our guards, rather than desist from their evil doings.

Our men often resisted temptations of no ordinary kind; houses were found abandoned, property left unprotected, shops open, and goods strewed about; and even the abominable spirit, samshu, (distilled from rice) was sometimes almost purposely placed in their way. The instances of misconduct were few, even under these peculiar circumstances.

Among other discoveries was one calculated to corroborate at first sight the notion of the prevalence of infanticide among the Chinese. In a large tank near a public building, by some supposed to have been an hospital, were found the dead bodies of several young infants which had been drowned, having been thrown in, sewn up in pieces of mat. But there was nothing to determine whether the horrid deed was done out of fear that violence might be offered to the women and chil-

dren, or whether it was really an instance of the practice of infanticide, which has been said to prevail in China to a much greater extent than it really does. The former explanation may possibly in this instance, as in some later ones, be the true one.

The interior of the island of Amoy was not occupied, or even examined, for it was feared by the General that the presence of our troops would so much alarm the respectable and influential inhabitants, that the whole place would be given up to the rapacity and lawlessness of the innumerable miscreants who watched for every opportunity of letting loose all their bad propensities; but the Nemesis, accompanied by the Algerine, and having in tow the launch and pinnace of the Blonde, was ordered to steam round the island, and search for war-junks. None, however, were found.

The island of Kolingsoo appeared so completely to command the harbour and approach to Amoy, that the occupation of that position only was calculated to answer every good purpose, without any necessity for the retention of Amoy.

It was the opinion of Sir Henry Pottinger, in which the General and the Admiral perfectly coincided, that no measures should be taken for the permanent occupation of the city, and that a small garrison only should be left at Kolingsoo, while the remainder of the expedition should move further northward with the least possible delay. It was necessary, however, to wait a day or two for favourable winds, and measures were taken for the destruction of the numerous works which had been constructed upon the outer islands.

The Nemesis was employed on this important service on the 30th and 31st. Having been joined by two launches and other boats, with a party of seamen and marines from the Wellesley, Blenheim, and Druid, under Commander Fletcher, she proceeded to destroy some forts and guns, principally on the south-west side of the bay, all of which had been abandoned by the Chinese. On this occasion, five forts or field-works and forty-two guns were taken possession of and destroyed, and on the following day several others of the same description were also disabled. A body of Chinese soldiers, who showed themselves near a small fort on the island of Quemoy, at the eastern entrance of the bay, were dispersed, and several guns, matchlocks, ginjals, &c., together with a quantity of gunpowder, were destroyed. Altogether seventy-seven guns and four forts were destroyed in this day's work, and the Admiral publicly spoke of the "very commendable zeal" which had been displayed.

At Amoy, for the first time, the so-called tiger soldiers showed themselves, that is, men dressed up in yellow-coloured clothes, with black spots or stripes upon them, and a covering for the head, intended to be a rude representation of a tiger's head, supposed to look very fierce, and to strike terror into the minds of the enemy.

The island of Kolingsoo, which has been retained in our possession ever since its capture, deserves a few remarks. It is about a mile and a half in length, and about three quarters of a mile broad, but is very irregular in its shape. It principally consists of rocky

broken ground, the greater part of which is barren, but interspersed with unwholesome rice-grounds, which have contributed to render the place extremely unhealthy; indeed at one period the mortality among the troops stationed there was dreadful, scarcely even a single officer having escaped sickness, which proved fatal to many. The Chinese, however, seem to have suffered little from it, for there were several neat and even elegant country-houses upon the island, ornamented with handsome carved woodwork, &c. It seemed to have been used as a place of retirement for some of the wealthier citizens of Amoy, and our retention of a place so conveniently situated for giving us the command of the harbour and trade of the city was a source of great annoyance, both to the authorities and to the inhabitants.

For a considerable time, very little communication was kept up with the town, and it was scarcely safe to venture into it; but since the peace, every disposition has been shown to receive us in a friendly manner, and the knowledge which many of the Chinese merchants have acquired of our character and habits, by trading with Singapore, will tend materially to facilitate our future commercial intercourse.

Several American missionaries have resided at Kolingsoo, and without doubt will at no distant period succeed in winning the attention and good-will of many of the inhabitants of Amoy. A boundless field has at length been opened for missionary enterprise in the benighted empire of China; for, although it cannot be said that the country has been made completely acces-

sible to the foreigner, still the hostility of the government has been materially modified.

It rests with Christian nations to profit *as Christians* by the opportunities which cannot fail to offer; not of pushing themselves by forcible means into the country, not of violating the ancient social prejudices of the people, or of interfering with the laws or habits which regulate their intercourse, but of winning the gentler affections of *individuals*, and, through individual sympathies, of working upon the feelings and the judgment of multitudes, so that they may be made sensible of the blessings presented to them, and learn to become mutual instructors to their own countrymen.

I have heard American missionaries distinctly say, that they met with no open opposition to their instruction, or any disposition to ridicule or decry their practices; that the people willingly *listened*, but with difficulty *understood;* they were more afraid of the *novelty* of what was taught them, than of the matter which was conveyed, or the subject which was presented to them. Among a people so fond of reading and *thinking*, and so given to study and inquiry, as the Chinese generally are, the best possible results are to be expected from the judicious teaching of Christianity, and, above all, of Christian *practices*. If China is really to be opened, it is to be effected by missionary enterprise cautiously and judiciously, and, above all, not too hastily applied.

The most valuable of all aids to these undertakings is that of medical knowledge, which may be considered as almost indispensable to the proper character of a missionary in China. The relief of bodily suffering

(above all, in a country where the medical art is so low as it is in China) softens the feelings of our nature, and paves the way for kinder influences over the mind itself. It will open the family mansion of the most secluded and prejudiced Chinese, when words or doctrines *first* propounded would meet an unwilling or perhaps a hostile listener. Religious teaching and the practice of the healing art, the comfort of the suffering mind, and the solace of the tortured body, must go hand in hand in effecting the good work of " opening" China.

Why is it that the Americans have taken precedence of the English in this great and glorious work, since the commencement of the war in particular? For many years, a talented medical missionary, Dr. Parker, has dispensed his double blessing upon the Chinese at Canton, and can testify to the gratitude of the people, from the highest to the lowest, and the readiness with which they have accepted his counsel and his teaching in both capacities. At Macao, Hong Kong, Kolingsoo, and Chusan, the Americans have alike preceded us. But it is to be hoped that this great country, though not the first to commence latterly, will soon be the most energetic to extend the good work. England incurred a solemn duty when she extorted a peace with China; and a heavier burden was imposed upon her than the settlement of a tariff, when she demanded and exacted the concession of those privileges of which she caused all nations to be partakers.

There is, however, one great and fatal error to be avoided; and that is, the rivalry of religious sects among each other, and the attempt to gain followers at

the expense of each other's tenets. It was this want of unanimity which in some measure produced the decline of the influence of Roman Catholic missionaries in China. It would naturally be asked, where are all these Christian feelings of unanimity, brotherly love, and good will, of which you speak, when you disagree among yourselves? How, in fact, are the Chinese to comprehend *distinctions*, when they are taught to believe that there is one Hope, one Faith, and one Lord of all? I will not venture, however, to dwell longer upon such a subject.

The garrison which was left by Sir Hugh Gough upon the island of Kolingsoo consisted of three companies of the 26th regiment, with a wing of the 18th, and a small detachment of artillery, comprising altogether about five hundred and fifty men; the whole under the command of Major Johnstone, of the 26th; and the Druid, with the Pylades and Algerine, were also to remain there, under the command of Captain Smith, C. B., as a further support, to ensure the complete command of the harbour of Amoy.

The number of troops employed during the operations against Amoy was as follows—

	Officers.	Men.
Artillery, European and Native, Captain Knowles	9	240
18th Regiment Royal Irish, Lieutenant-Colonel Adams ...	30	648
26th Regiment (Cameronians), Major Johnstone	8	153
49th Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Morris	24	460
55th Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Craigie	26	731
Madras Sappers and Miners	6	184
Total...	103	2,416

Four native officers, and sergeants and drummers, are included in the second column.[1]

In the afternoon of the 4th of September, the weather having become calm and fine, the preconcerted signal for the embarkation of the troops from the town and island of Amoy was made on board the flag-ship. Upon this sudden order, the troops were paraded in perfect regularity, without a single instance of drunkenness or misconduct, after eight days of harassing duty on shore, amid temptations of every kind. Under the direction of Commander Giffard, of the Cruiser, the whole force was embarked, without any accident, by half-past six o'clock, on board the Nemesis and other steamers, which conveyed them out to their respective transports, in readiness to sail on the following day. Not even a camp-follower was left behind (and they are generally a very troublesome class); but, in order to make sure

[1] List of H. M. ships and vessels, and of the Honourable Company's steam-vessels, in action at Amoy, 26th of August, 1841.

Wellesley (Flag)	72	Captain T. Maitland.
Blenheim	72	Captain T. Herbert.
Blonde	44	Captain T. Bourchier.
Druid	44	Captain H. Smith.
Modeste	18	Captain H. Eyres.
Cruiser	16	Commander Giffard.
Pylades	18	Commander Anson.
Columbine	16	Commander Clarke.
Bentinck	10	Lieutenant R. Collinson.
Algerine	10	Lieutenant T. Mason.
Sesostris steamer	4	Commander Ormsby, I.N.
Phlegethon steamer	4	Lieutenant M'Cleverty, R.N.
Nemesis steamer	4	Mr. W. H. Hall, R.N.
Queen steamer	4	Mr. W. Warden, R.N.

that there was no straggler, the Nemesis was afterwards sent in again to the town, to bring off any one that might accidentally have been left. But the only straggler which was found happened to be a fine *fat bullock*, which was soon put on board the Nemesis, and carried off.

Every preparation was now completed for the departure of our forces on the following morning, the 5th of September.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Mercantile spirit of Amoy—Character of the people—Enterprising colonists—English compelled to abandon their factory, owing to extortions—Prospects of future trade—Capabilities of Amoy—Great trade with Formosa—Dutch once settled there—Question of an English settlement on the Bonin Islands—Their character and position—Notices of Formosa—The last Tartar conquest—Chinese colonization—Settlement of the Dutch—Their expulsion from the island—Productions—Great trade with Amoy—Probable demand for English manufactures—Wreck of the Nerbudda and Ann—History of the unfortunate sufferers—Their cruel treatment—Imprisonment—Ty-wan-foo—Inquisitiveness of the mandarins—Strange questions—Horrid details—Hopes raised and disappointed—Final tragedy.

All those persons who have visited Amoy, either out of curiosity or on matters of business, appear to agree with each other in regarding it as a place peculiarly adapted for the extension of European trade. The mercantile spirit and enterprise of its inhabitants, and their anxious desire to trade with foreigners, when not held back by the arbitrary orders of the mandarins, have been long known and recorded by several travellers, before there was any prospect whatever of the trade being opened. Mr. Gutzlaff observed, respecting it, in the account of his voyage along the coast: "Its excel-

lent harbour has made it from time immemorial one of the greatest emporiums of the empire, and one of the most important markets of Asia. Vessels can sail close up to the houses, load and unload with the greatest facility, have shelter from all winds, and, in entering or leaving the port, experience no danger of getting ashore. The whole adjacent country being sterile, the inhabitants were forced to seek some means of subsistance elsewhere. Endowed with an enterprising spirit, and unwearied in the pursuit of gain, they visited all parts of the Chinese empire, gradually became bold sailors, and settled as merchants all along the coast. Thus they colonized Formosa, which, from that period to this, has been their granary; and visited and settled in the Indian archipelago, Cochin China, and Siam. A population constantly overflowing, demanded constant resources for their subsistence, and this they found in colonization; and thus they spread themselves all along the coast of China, up to Mantchou Tartary. As soon as the colonists amass sufficient money, they return home, which they leave again when all is spent." Elsewhere he says, "Many of these merchants, settled in the northern parts of China, return annually with their profits. It is not surprising, therefore, that a large amount of Chinese shipping belongs to Amoy merchants, and that the greater part of the capital employed in the coasting trade is their property. Hence, even this barren tract is become one of the richest in China, from the enterprise of its inhabitants. Wherever the people go, they are rarely found in a state of abject poverty; on the contrary, they are often wealthy, and command

the trade of whole islands and provinces, as well by their capital as by their superior enterprise and industry." The English, who had formerly a factory at Amoy, were compelled to relinquish the trade by the severe extortions to which they were subject. The Dutch continued it for a longer time, but neglected it when their influence at Formosa ceased. The natives of Amoy have always shown themselves ready to cultivate the friendship of foreigners, wherever they have been, and in their dealings they have a character for honesty beyond all other Chinese. They are more ambitious of successful mercantile enterprise than of literary distinction or advancement, which is generally so dear to a Chinaman.

It is thus evident that no place better calculated for the purpose than Amoy could have been selected, for the extension of our trade with that country. If conducted with prudence in the first instance, and if amicable relations and mutual confidence be gradually and cautiously established, it can hardly be doubted that, in the course of very few years, our commercial intercourse will lead to a friendly and intimate connection with the people. "Justice and forbearance," says Gutzlaff, "must be on our side; we should do our utmost to conciliate by unequivocal acts of kindness, and we should prove ourselves Christians by honest dealings, and philanthropists by our religion."

The shops of Amoy are generally well supplied with the necessaries and luxuries of life, the merchants are civil; and although the town is neither handsome nor very cleanly, and the population in some parts of it are

densely crowded together, still there are many fine houses, which indicate the possession of wealth and consequence.

An immense trade is carried on between Amoy and the island of Formosa, to which a great number of emigrants are even still attracted, from the province of Fokien. Before the occupation of Hong Kong was thought of, several proposals were made for forming a British settlement upon Formosa, as being conveniently situated for extending our trade with the inhabitants, not only of the adjacent district of Fokien, but of the whole coast of China. This suggestion was partly encouraged by the recollection of the settlement which the Dutch once possessed upon the island; but it seemed to be forgotten that the Dutch were at length forcibly expelled, and that the population having greatly increased since that period, it is not likely that we should be suffered to retain possession of any part of the island without being constantly harassed and provoked to bloodshed; moreover, the privilege of trading with Amoy does away with all probability of advantage to be derived by direct trade with Formosa.

Among other proposals, that of a settlement upon the Bonin islands (which are said already to belong to Great Britain) was suggested, with a view to commercial enterprise with China; and Mr. Tradescant Lay warmly supported this notion. These islands were taken possession of by Captain Beechey, of H.M.S. Blossom, in 1827, and they extend from latitude 27°, 44′, to 26°, 30′ n., being about five days' sail from the Lew-Chew islands, and three from Japan. In the course of a few

years, it is not improbable that Port St. George, the principal harbour, may be resorted to with the object of pushing our trade even into Japan itself. At the present moment, indeed, several Englishmen and other Europeans are settled there, and are principally concerned in the whale fishery. There are also a good many natives of the Sandwich Islands at Port St. George. The islands are volcanic, but are rendered productive with moderate cultivation.

It is worth while here to mention that the Bonin islands and the Sandwich islands lie directly in the line of future intercourse between China and the west coast of America, and that it has been thought not improbable that a new route to China may some day be opened, by way of California and the islands above-named.

To return from this digression to the island of Formosa, which has claimed our particular interest, since the massacre of so many of our shipwrecked countrymen by the authorities, shortly before the termination of the late war. In this horrible tragedy no less than two hundred and eighty-three human beings were put to death in cold blood, without any other crime than that of helplessness, and without any other object than that of obtaining rewards by fabricated statements, and honours by false pretences. Formosa was the last conquest of the present Tartar dynasty, and even since it has been brought under Chinese dominion, the rebellions and disturbances of its unruly inhabitants have been a frequent source of alarm to the government. The imperial troops have been frequently defeated with great slaughter, and peace is said to have been purchased by

bribes more frequently than it has been won by conquest. The aboriginal inhabitants are still numerous in the mountain districts, and along some parts of the eastern shores, but they are said to be much oppressed by the Chinese colonists, and also by the authorities.

When the Tartars first began the conquest of China, great numbers of discontented spirits went over to Formosa, from the neighbouring provinces, and it has been recorded that one hundred thousand people took refuge there. The island belongs to the province of Fokien, along which it is situated at a distance varying from seventy to one hundred and twenty miles, the passage between it and the mainland being called the Formosa channel. The length of this island is about two hundred and twenty miles, but the breadth of it is extremely irregular. The Chinese population is at present supposed to amount to about *two millions*, and is constantly on the increase, by the accession of an influx of emigrants from the mainland adjoining. They are attracted thither by the fertility of the soil, and the great facilities for cultivating sugar and rice, which are there grown to an extent sufficient to supply a vast quantity of these necessary articles to the inhabitants of the mainland, and to employ several hundred trading junks in the traffic.

It is worthy of remark, that the Dutch contrived to establish themselves upon the island of Formosa, and ultimately to form a factory there, before the Tartar conquest, and before it was regularly colonized by the Chinese. The Japanese also partly contributed, though in small numbers, to colonize the island. The Dutch had a

small garrison at a place called Tanshuy, or Tamsui, at the northern extremity of the island, and another at Kelung, not very far from it. Their object was to make use of their settlement as a depôt, or centre of trade, from which their operations could be extended along the coast of China and Japan. Their influence was, however, of very short continuance, as they were ultimately completely driven out of the island, after some few struggles, by the famous pirate, Coxinga, in 1662, about thirty or forty years after they had fairly established themselves on it.

The present capital of the island is built upon the site of the principal Dutch factory of former times, and is called Taywanfoo; it is upon the west coast, some distance down towards its southern end. The harbour has, however, become almost inaccessible, except to vessels of very light draught of water, owing to the accumulation of sand, which is thought to frequently change its place. Indeed, the sea has gradually continued to retire from many parts of the coast, and harbours which were once frequented are at present inaccessible.

From the time of the expulsion of the Dutch, to the period of our operations upon the coast of China, little seems to have been known or heard of Formosa; and, owing to the jealousy of the Chinese, and other causes, no attempt seems to have been made to explore the island. The colonists are described as being generally very turbulent and given to violence, as it has become a place of refuge for all the bad characters who can manage to escape from the mainland; but it is also the home of many respectable and enterprising settlers;

although being removed from the control of the superior officers of the province, they live with less restraint, and therefore readily become bold and lawless. For the same reason, the local mandarins are cruel, rapacious, and ignorant; and their behaviour towards our unfortunate countrymen will suffice to stamp them with the character of treachery and thorough baseness. But the cultivation and prosperity of the island have increased in a rapid and remarkable manner; and it is evident that British manufactures will soon be spread among its numerous population, through their intimate connexion with Amoy.

Besides furnishing immense supplies of rice, Formosa also produces great quantities of sugar, camphor, and tobacco, which are exported to Amoy. A great part of the camphor is already carried down to Singapore in the trading junks from Amoy, but probably our own trading vessels will henceforth procure supplies of it on the spot, in exchange for cotton and other manufactured articles.

Unruly as the people of Formosa are, the island is nevertheless somewhat famous for its schools, which are said to be in a flourishing condition. Mr. Gutzlaff states, that the rich men of Fokien frequently send their sons over to obtain literary degrees at Formosa; and the Dutch, at an early period, took pains to spread Christianity among the inhabitants, who, at that time, were comparatively few in number. A few books on Christianity were translated by them into the Formosan language, and they were very successful in making converts. Since they abandoned the island,

however, nearly all traces of their early labours have disappeared.

The close connexion of Formosa with Amoy will probably be the means of reviving amongst the inhabitants some of the lost spirit of Christianity; for we cannot doubt that, in all parts of China, the increase of missionary labour will keep pace with the increase of commercial intercourse.

The wreck of the Nerbudda transport, on her way up to join the expedition with camp-followers, in the month of September, 1841, soon after our forces left Amoy, and the loss of the brig, Ann, a trading vessel, on her way down to Macao, from Chusan, in the month of March following, upon the shores of Formosa, served to attract unusual attention towards that island, and to put us in possession of some little information respecting the interior.

The history and ultimate fate of our shipwrecked countrymen is calculated to awaken the most painful interest. On board the Nerbudda there were altogether two hundred and seventy-four people; of whom, twenty-nine were Europeans, two natives of Manilla, and two hundred and forty-three natives of India. The captain and the rest of the Europeans, with the two Manilla men, and only three Indians, got away in the ship's boats immediately after she struck, and were providentially picked up some days afterwards by a trading schooner, called the Black Swan, on her way down to Hong Kong. The unfortunate Indians, to the number of two hundred and forty, who were left upon the wreck, after remaining by her for five days, managed to con-

struct rafts, upon which they attempted to reach the shore. Many of them, however, perished in the surf, and others are supposed to have been murdered by the Chinese plunderers. The exact number, therefore, who fell into the hands of the Chinese authorities, and were imprisoned and subjected to the greatest privations, cannot be ascertained; but they were thought to amount, according to the best information which could be obtained, to more than a hundred and fifty.

On board the brig Ann there were in all fifty-seven souls; of whom, fourteen were natives of Europe or America, four Portuguese, five Chinamen, and thirty-four natives of India. Out of all those who were taken prisoners, belonging to both vessels, only nine ultimately escaped an untimely fate, and were restored at the end of the war, according to the terms of the treaty.

The following account of what befel the unfortunate sufferers on board the Ann will apply with little variation to those who were wrecked before them in the Nerbudda. It is extracted and condensed from a curious journal, kept by one of the sufferers, a fine young man, who was a passenger on board. It was found concealed in his cell, after his unfortunate fate, and cannot but awaken feelings of deep commiseration for all his companions in distress.[1] It was written upon common Chinese paper, with a piece of bamboo, and the account was continued to within five or six days of the time when the final tragedy is supposed to have

[1] The information in the text was extracted from the manuscript, more than a year ago, in China. But the journals of Mr. Gully and Captain Denham have been recently published in full, in this country.

taken place. It was written day by day, as the various little occurrences took place, and some of the observations casually made upon the appearance of the island will be read with great interest; but I have thought proper to omit the minutiæ and repetition of abrupt and hasty notes, which would have been tedious and of little benefit.

It will here be proper to mention, that prompt redress and "*condign*" punishment upon the heads of those high officers, whose false and pitiless misrepresentations occasioned the final catastrophe, has since been demanded, in firm and dignified terms, by Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary; and one of the conditions insisted on was, "that the property of the high authorities of the island, who were perfidiously concerned in the affair, should be confiscated, and the amount paid over to the officers of the British government, to be applied to the relief and support of the families of the innocent men who suffered."

By the orders of the Emperor, a strict investigation has been made into all the circumstances connected with the dreadful event; and a report has been sent up to Pekin, by the Viceroy of Fokien, condemnatory of the misrepresentation and duplicity of the authorities of Formosa.

The whole of the fifty-seven individuals who were on board the Ann quitted the wreck at daylight; and, having marched along the shore about two miles, they fell in with two junks, lying wind-bound in a small river or creek. They hoped to be able to put to sea, and stretch across to Amoy; but the gale continued so

violent that it prevented them from getting out of the creek. They were not ill-treated by the Chinese junk-men, but, as they were without food of any kind, and exposed to a cold, cutting wind, it was soon evident that they must surrender themselves to the Chinese authorities. Soldiers soon gathered round them in crowds; and, as they had very little ammunition, any attempt to defend themselves, which might have caused the death of some of the soldiers, or of the mob, would certainly have been followed by the massacre of the whole party. In the afternoon, they all gave themselves up, without having fired a single shot, and without attempting to make any kind of resistance. They were immediately stripped and marched away, exposed to the most cutting wind and sleet, without any covering, their feet cut by the sharp shells with which the beach was covered, and with very little allowance of food. It is not surprising, therefore, that two men soon died from fatigue and exposure, and several others fell from sheer exhaustion, and were obliged to be carried along in baskets; others were afterwards carried in sedans, more for sake of security than from any feeling of compassion for them. It was remarked, that, during the whole journey of thirteen or fourteen days, to the capital of the island, the lascars or Indian sailors showed a great deal of bad and selfish behaviour towards each other. Each man of the party had a ticket fastened round his neck, stating what he was, and whence he was brought; being treated in this respect like public criminals. For a great length of time their food was only salt fish and greens, with sometimes rice. They

suffered all sorts of abuse and indignities in every town and village through which they passed; but it is remarked, "that the women (who did not appear to be at all secluded) did not join in this, although they exhibited the usual curiosity of the sex." They were observed throughout the whole journey to be very plain, but they had a pretty fashion of dressing their hair, by weaving natural flowers amongst it.[1]

After the first two or three days, they came to a considerable walled town, where they were placed for the night in two cells, *about eight feet by seven feet*, in which twenty-five unfortunate beings were stowed, with nothing to lie upon, the weather being intensely cold. Three guards were placed over them. The rest of the party were taken by a different route, but they all ultimately reached the capital. One large town they came to was enclosed, as were some others, by a high, red brick wall. It was situated in a large paddy swamp or valley, interspersed here and there with small hamlets, around which the bamboo plantations were growing in great beauty and luxuriance, and of extraordinary height, many of them measuring upwards of sixty feet. In some of the smaller towns and villages, the so-called gates (for they all had them) were constructed of bamboo. The country appeared well culti-

[1] Probably the women at Formosa are much less numerous, compared with the men, than in most other places. The men come over from the mainland, but do not bring their women. It is believed that infanticide of *female* children is very prevalent at Amoy. The men are driven by poverty to emigrate, and have no means of providing for female children, who are therefore frequently smothered or drowned.

vated in many parts, and *wheat* and sugar-cane were met with; but other parts of the country were very barren, and covered with large stones, such as are called "boulders," in some parts of England. Generally, the men were made to wear handcuffs, but they were not of great strength, for some of the party managed to break them off; and they were then carried along in chairs, under a strong guard of soldiers, but were occasionally allowed to walk. Wherever they went, the crowd and annoyance of the hosts of curious gazers, who frequently insulted them, was so great that it was a relief to get lodged in the common gaol, which was divided into several cells, each cell having cages in it, made of wooden bars, just like the dens of wild beasts. The cells were also provided with a regular pair of stocks, in order to afford greater security, if required. One of the cells was filled with Chinese prisoners.

The great object of the mandarins now appeared to be, to get some of the party to admit that the Ann was a man-of-war, sent to look after the crew of the Nerbudda, who were known to be still upon the island. With this view, two of the men were mercilessly beaten, but without the desired effect. So common and so public a practice did opium-smoking appear to be, that even the soldiers who acted as an escort carried their opium-pipes in their girdles. For the first twelve days, the prisoners were never allowed to wash even their faces, and at length they could only do it in a dirty pool by the road side. For the last four days before they reached the capital, called Ty-wan-foo, they were compelled to wear leg-irons as well as handcuffs. Generally,

they were allowed to purchase their own food during the journey; for which purpose a little money was given to them, at the rate of one mace, or about fivepence, a day. But this was only after the first few days.

It was remarked that wheel-carts were in common use in the island, and tracks of them were seen in all directions. On the mainland of China these are unknown, except in the neighbourhood of Pekin; but, in the island of Hainan, to the southward of Canton, they are very common, and similar in construction to those in use upon Formosa. They are, however, very clumsy and inconvenient; the wheels, which are small, being composed of two semicircular pieces of solid wood, joined together, with the axle *fixed* into the wheel itself, so as to revolve *with* it, and not within it, but made to turn round under the body of the cart. The roads or causeways are generally broader than upon the mainland, and were in many places shaded with bamboos on each side. Several rivers were crossed near the capital, and the country was somewhat improved in appearance.

About twenty miles from Ty-wan-foo they passed a night in a large town, with walls built of chunam; at the entrance of which were placed several very long guns, not mounted on carriages, but fixed upon the ground, rather to indicate their good intentions than their ability to perform them. Here again they were lodged in the common gaol; and, on the following morning, the Chinese servant who had been taken prisoner with them had a chain put round his neck, in addition to his leg-irons and handcuffs. The next night

(the last before they entered the capital) was spent at an inn by the road-side, which was so crowded with travellers that scarcely any food could be procured. The Chinese had regular fights and scrambles for the little which was to be had, and their appetites appeared by no means delicate; but, whether their hunger was appeased or not, they were all prepared in the evening to enjoy in good earnest the luxury of the opium-pipe, soldiers and travellers all alike; nor did the two mandarins who were present interfere in any manner to point out its impropriety.

On the 24th March (fourteenth day since the wreck), they were destined to make their wretched entrance into the capital. At the distance of six or seven miles from it, they were met by an officer and a few soldiers, by whom their names and their numbers were called over, according to a list which the officer held in his hand, and they were then separated into smaller parties, and led by different routes into the city. As they approached the gate, they, for the first time, caught a glimpse of the sea, with a few junks at anchor at a distance, towards which they hopelessly strained their longing eyes. The walls of the city appeared to be in a state of dilapidation, except near the gateway, where they had been recently repaired and whitewashed. The prisoners were now fairly within the capital of Formosa, and were conducted to an open space, planted thickly with trees, but broken up by rough water-courses, over which there were several bridges of stone. Thence they were led through back lanes, avoiding the principal streets, to the house of a high mandarin, in front of

which they halted for a short time: here such was the pressure of the crowd and the curiosity of the people, that the chairs in which they had been brought were nearly pulled to pieces before they were ordered to get out and enter the outer gateway of the mandarin's house.

Here they were drawn up in line, to have the tickets round their necks copied; but, before the process could be half finished, the pressure of the crowd became so great that the mandarins were obliged to discontinue the task. A ludicrous scene followed, which, for the moment, afforded amusement even to the prisoners themselves. The enraged mandarins charged the mob in great fury, and whipped them with their *long tails*, which, having silk woven on to the ends, gave some tolerable cuts to the people's faces. For a few minutes our hapless prisoners were put for refuge into a small temple which was close at hand; but even here the mob pressed so hard upon them that the door was nearly smashed in; and, as a last resource, they were marched off with heavy irons on their legs, which bruised them at every step, to a prison in the court-yard of a superior mandarin's house, about one hundred yards distant. Here their treatment was very bad; for several successive days they were brought up before the mandarin to answer an infinity of questions, many of them very puerile, about the names, ages, and duties of every one on board the Ann; also about geography and the possessions of Great Britain, and where the poppy was grown; how money was raised, &c. &c. The Chinese carpenter of the vessel acted as interpreter; and,

on one occasion, both he and the other Chinaman were severely flogged with bamboos.

After some time, those who could draw were allowed to sketch ships, carriages, and other things, which exceedingly amused the Chinese, who were glad to purchase them; so that by these means they were able to procure food and tobacco, and thus to diminish in some degree their chances of being carried off by starvation or sickness.

After the lapse of a week or two, fever broke out, and they were then separated into smaller parties, and were put into different cells or prisons, some faring better, some worse, according to the temper or caprice, or even roguery, of the particular jailor who chanced to have charge of them. One of these wretches seems to have been a perfect fiend of his class; he kept one party of *ten* miserable human beings in a den so small that not one of them could lie down at night. It will scarcely be believed that they were made to exist for *two whole months* in this horrid black hole, only *eleven feet six inches long, by seven feet six inches wide;* grudging each other every little inch of room, and longing even for the little bit of space which the single insensible bucket, which was the only piece of furniture, occupied in their den. Here were ten human beings stowed away together, some sick, some sore, and all in pain and misery. For some time they were not permitted to come out of the den at all, but at last they were let out once a day, and were allowed a very little water to wash themselves; only two or three, however, could wash themselves on the same day, so that the whole of them could

only be able to wash themselves once in three days. Of course, they were dreadfully infected with vermin of every kind, and, as the author of the journal expresses it, "A few weeks have sufficed to bring me down from a strong hale man, to a wretched helpless being, disgusted with myself."

Many attempts were made to get a note sent across to Amoy, to give information of their situation; and the promise of one hundred dollars on its safe delivery, and one hundred more on bringing an answer back (to be paid at Amoy), sufficed to induce a tolerable trusty Chinaman to undertake the task. We shall see presently how far it succeeded. It has before been stated that the several parties fared differently, according to the humanity or rapacity of the particular jailor. Something also depended upon the particular mandarin under whose supervision they were placed, but it is noticed that the highest, or red button mandarin, was the best of all, and frequently ordered some of the hardships they complained of to be remedied, particularly as regarded the quality of the food.

On the other hand, it is stated, that one of the jailors, who was humane enough to allow his party of prisoners *to be shaved*, was taken before a mandarin and punished with fifty strokes of the bamboo; after which, no visitors were allowed to see them at all, and the jailor became very sulky, except when he was drunk, which he generally was, by the use of opium, every evening. Sometimes they were taken out of prison in order to draw for the mandarins, at others, to undergo repeated examinations for their amusement. In the first instance, how-

ever, the object invariably was, to betray them into an admission, however remote, that the vessel was really a man-of-war. But it was quite evident that they knew perfectly well that she was not so, and at length the red button mandarin put an end to this part of the business. From this time, their questions were more of a general nature, but many of them were exceedingly absurd. The mention of Sir Henry Pottinger's name (for they appeared already to have heard of him) invariably made them angry, and on one occasion they inquired whether he was a *white* or a *black* man. They also inquired a good deal about the Queen, her court, and ministers, mode of life, &c., and how many husbands she was allowed to have; expressing great astonishment when they learnt that in Europe kings and queens, as well as private individuals, had only one wife or husband; and then they proceeded to enumerate the virtues of their own emperor, and to plume themselves upon their own cleverness.

On one occasion, they asked whether America had not, some time or other, been situated *in* England? whether a man could *now* walk from London to America in a week? how large London was, and how many outside (foreign) nations are subject or tributary to England? Endless were their curious questions, and on one occasion they exhibited an officer's jacket, and a corporal's coat with the 55th button on it, and particularly inquired the use of an epaulette, which they held up, fancying it was intended to be worn on the head. Sometimes the prisoners were a little better treated after these examinations; but these occasional moments of

relief, to the monotony and misery of their situation, were very few, and served rather to awaken hopes which were not to be realised, than to afford any certain prospect of amelioration to their lot. Promises, indeed, were made often enough, but only to be broken; and their cup of bitterness was always made more bitter by the half-solemn mockery with which tantalizing offers were made to them, and an affectation of interest exhibited in their behalf, which invariably proved to be but a vain shadow and an empty fiction.

During the first half of the month of May, it rained incessantly, and they were very imperfectly protected from its effects. In fact, the rain always beat through their roof, and when it was heavy, or long continued, it flooded their den: the least bit of dry plank, or a partially sheltered corner, was matter of envy and contention; and, as may be supposed, they not only suffered from bad food, confinement, vermin, and ill-health, but were incessantly tormented with the most venomous mosquitoes, producing inflammation and sores. In this condition they were kept in the most harassing state of suspense; one day being assured that they would be sent away in a month; another, that they had no chance of liberty for six months, and the very next, perhaps, that their heads would soon be taken off; while this again was followed by promises of protection, and renewed assurances of ultimate rescue.

Fortunately, the talent for drawing, possessed by Mr. Gully and Captain Denham, served to gain for them friends and pacify enemies. The former commenced no less an undertaking than that of drawing a

railway with steam-carriages and thirteen coaches, with a fine-looking tunnel just ready for them to pass through. This *did* astonish the natives, and they began to look upon the barbarians with some little respect. This chef d'œuvre was followed by sea-fights, steamers, tiger-hunts, views of Chusan, Chinhae, and Amoy, the sale of which occasionally furnished them with a few necessaries. In fact, the ups and downs in their lot seem to have alternated as often as the sun rose; but, alas, it was only a succession of clouds that passed before them, and the changes were commonly only from bad to worse, or to less bad.

In this way month after month continued to drag its slow length along. At the end of about three months' close confinement, a slight change for the better took place; they were moved into rather better quarters, where they were only three together, so that they had more room to breathe; they were also allowed water to wash themselves, and a little money was given to them. It was thought that this arose in consequence of information received by the authorities that there was some chance of an attack being made upon this island, by our forces at Amoy, with a view to liberate the prisoners. It was now ascertained, also, that the fisherman who had promised to carry over the letter to Amoy, two months before, had succeeded in his attempt, and an answer had been brought back by him, which held out the prospect of speedy release. Another letter was also sent off to Amoy; so that now at length their hopes again revived. But, alas! sickness had already begun its work, and their minds were so depressed that even the boldest, who

tried to bear up bravely to the last, recorded his feelings that, "One miserable day passed after another, with nothing to help them to break in upon the wretchedness of their existence; no exercise being permitted, and nothing, in fact, to relieve the dreadful monotony of such prison life." And what *was* the little improvement in their lot, which resulted from their removal into other cells? "We now (three of us)," said he, "have five planks with a mat upon them to sleep on, and glad we are to get into this new place, which is the Executioner's Den, and which, until we had ourselves cleaned it, could never have been cleaned since it was built." Indeed, this process seems to have been part of their "daily work, for it is continually recorded that they washed their planks this morning;" and on other occasions it is noted "we *scalded* our clothes this morning to kill the vermin."

It was thought that the day they were removed into this new berth must have been the Emperor's birthday, or some day of rejoicing, for they had at the same time a dinner of roast pork, with sweet cakes, and each man received one mace, or fivepence in money. But this was too good to last; a mere freak of Fortune! Generally speaking, their food was so bad, that a great part of it was thrown away, and it was only by quarrelling with the jailors, and threatening to complain to the high mandarin, that they could succeed in procuring any eatable food at all.

In the month of June, several shocks of an earthquake were felt, followed by terrific storms of thunder and lightning. One poor fellow at length lost his senses.

He was able to draw a little; but now he not only refused to draw any more, but declined every thing, even tobacco, because it was purchased with money earned by the drawings of others, saying that it was derogatory to his dignity to make drawings for sale. This poor fellow did not long survive. It is due to the better class of mandarins to remark that, when complaints were made to them, they procured some temporary improvement for the prisoners. But promises, over and over again made, of providing them with proper clothes, were never attended to; and at the end of July it is recorded, "I have on my back now the only shirt (and that a woollen one) which I have had for five months, and *half a pair* of cotton drawers upon my legs."

On the 4th of July, it was made known that honours and rewards had been largely conferred upon the mandarins, for having contrived to take so many prisoners. This was in answer to their false accounts of the business to the Emperor, in which they said that they had attacked and destroyed two English men-of-war which came prying into the coast, and had taken all the people prisoners, enumerating the number of black, and *red*, and white barbarians, and the quantity of barbarian guns.

On the 10th of July, Mr. Gully, who had necessarily been ailing for some time, became seriously ill with dysentery, brought on in a great measure by eating large quantities of mangoes. The Chinese recommended him two cures for it; one was to eat the skins of the mangoes *alone*, the other was to eat opium. The former he found to have a good effect, at least so far that

his complaint improved under the treatment; the latter he was able to purchase at a moderate price from the visiters, who brought it on purpose for him; it was different from the extract which is used for smoking, and apparently much less powerful; but he took a considerable quantity, and the effect of it was, that "in a quarter of an hour it began to make him quite happy; in an hour quite sick; after that he could neither go to sleep nor yet rise up, but remained in a kind of dreamy reverie all day." He gradually got better, but was reduced to the last degree of weakness.

The same mandarin who had given them a treat upon the Emperor's birthday all along shewed more interest in their condition than any of the others; and one day, in the hope of inducing him to give them some kind of indulgence, they told him that it was the birthday of the Queen of England's eldest child, and that they all entertained so strong a feeling of "filial obedience" and affection towards their queen, that they wished to celebrate the event. To their great surprise and delight, the mandarin's heart was moved by this appeal, and he gave each of them money; to some five mace, to others three (equal to about two shillings), and then sent them a good dinner, and made himself quite agreeable; and, of course, all the inferior officers, including the jailors, took their tone for the day from their superior. On another occasion, the lascars were all brought up before the chief mandarin, having had new clothes first given to them, and he himself then presented each of them with a fan. Imagine a lascar, or an Indian camp-follower, quietly sitting down to fan himself!

All these circumstances naturally tended to revive their hopes, and little did they dream of the horrible catastrophe which was soon to take place. Towards the end of July, they were informed that, in the course of half a moon more, an answer would be received from Pekin, containing the Emperor's commands as to what was to be done with the prisoners; and they were warned that, if his majesty ordered that they should be decapitated, it would immediately be carried into effect. From this it would seem that the authorities fully anticipated that the representations which they had made would induce the Emperor to issue such a cruel command; but the prisoners themselves still retained sufficient hope to induce them to disbelieve the probability of such a tragedy. With the exception of Captain Denham (whose life was saved) and the Chinese carpenter, it does not appear that any of them were tortured; but the dreadful cries of some of the Chinese prisoners could be distinctly heard; and two poor fellows were seen passing by with their hands *blackened*, having been condemned to have them chopped off.

One remark is worth recording, namely, that the mandarins, from the highest to the lowest, as well as all their servants and attendants, were in the constant habit of smoking opium. Tobacco was also in general use, as elsewhere in China, and was extensively cultivated on the island. There was also noticed (what should have been mentioned before) a curious vine-like plant, grown upon trelliswork, and frequently observed to be carefully covered up with mats; what it exactly was no one knew, but more care and attention seemed to be bestowed upon

it than upon any thing else which was seen upon the island.

The final tragedy is believed to have taken place upon the 12th or 13th of August, and is too horrible to dwell upon. They were beheaded with the sword.

The punishment which is sure to befal the authorities of the island for the false statements they made to the Emperor will, it is hoped, henceforth teach them how to exercise that humanity towards prisoners which they themselves invariably received when they fell into our hands. How many lessons have the Chinese learnt, and how many have they yet to learn! It is difficult to account for their having reserved nine individuals from the general massacre. Of these six were Europeans or Americans, and three natives of India. It is supposed that they were retained in order to be sent to Pekin, to be there cut in pieces. Fortunately, the treaty of peace saved their lives, and they were at length conveyed to Amoy, and there met with all the attention they so much needed from their own countrymen.

Mention has already been made of the demands addressed by Sir Henry Pottinger to the Emperor, in consequence of the murder of so many British subjects. His majesty's reply, and the result of the inquiry ordered to be made into the matter, have also been alluded to.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Departure of the fleet from Amoy — Affair of the Nemesis at Sheipoo — Curious mode of getting a good pilot—Attack upon the forts — Three war-junks blown up—Chinese troops dispersed—Apathy of the people generally — Inaccuracy of the surveys of the coast — Alligator Island —Interesting anecdote—Expatriated Chinese—Their wretched life— Rendezvous at Keeto Point — A village destroyed in retaliation for murder—Attack upon Chinhae deferred— Reconnoissance of the harbour of Chusan — Remarks on the character and appearance of the island — Its high state of cultivation — Anecdote of mountain husbandry in Tartary—City and harbour of Tinghai, and its new defences described—Defects of the Chinese system—Reconnoissance of the Nemesis, Modeste, and Columbine — Preparations for the capture of the defences of Chusan — Positions of our ships — Mortar battery erected on Melville Island—1st of October, 1841 — Debarkation of the troops — Hills carried by the 55th, and long battery by the 18th regiments — Capture of the city — And measures to prevent the escape of the Chinese—General remarks.

On leaving the bay of Amoy, on the 5th of September, the appointed places for the rendezvous of the fleet of men-of-war and transports, in case of separation, were successively the so-called Buffalo's Nose, at the entrance of the Chusan group; Keeto Point, a promontory running out from the mainland towards Chusan; and, lastly, the bay or harbour of Tinghai, the capital of Chusan. The progress of the squadron was slow for some days,

owing to light winds and a heavy swell; and the Nemesis, being very light in the water, and having, moreover, a leak in her bottom (after the accident at Amoy) was kept pretty close in shore, to avoid the swell outside, but seldom entirely lost sight of the fleet. A considerable quantity of floating wood was picked up alongshore, which was very acceptable for fuel, of which she had only a very small supply remaining on board.

On the 13th, eight days after leaving Amoy, the north-east monsoon set in rather suddenly, and somewhat earlier than usual, with heavy squalls and a thick fog, which caused the unavoidable separation of the squadron. At the commencement of this change of weather, the Nemesis lost her fore-top-mast and top-gallant-mast, but continued her course leisurely alongshore until the following day, when she came to anchor under a small island at the mouth of the river Taitchou, about thirty-five miles from Sheipoo, and between fifty and sixty from the Buffalo's Nose. The weather still continued very hazy and squally, enough to prove that the season was already very far advanced, and that any longer delay at Amoy or at Hong Kong would have probably occasioned a total suspension of active operations until the following year.

On the 16th Captain Hall landed upon the island above-mentioned, under which he had taken shelter, with a party of men to look for wood, which was much needed for fuel, and also for refreshments for the crew, and then took the opportunity of ascending a high hill, to take a survey of the neighbouring country. The haze cleared off sufficiently to enable him to discover

the entrance to an extensive harbour, which proved to be that of Sheipoo, where there is a considerable trading town. He thought that he could also make out something like the appearance of batteries or field-works at the entrance. The opportunity was a tempting one, to endeavour to earn some little distinction for the Nemesis; and it was also probable that a good supply of fuel would be found near the town; a consideration never to be lost sight of for a steamer. The spirit of enterprise was now awakened; and the state of the weather, which continued very squally and unsettled, precluded the possibility of putting out to sea.

Soon after daylight on the following morning, the 17th, a large junk hove in sight, which was boarded in the hope of gaining some information, but was not otherwise molested. Nothing important was elicited. The Nemesis, however, now stood in for the entrance of the harbour, which was very narrow, but fortunately she soon fell in with a fishing-boat, in which were several fishermen busy about their nets. It could not be doubted that some among them would be induced to act as pilots; and, accordingly, by the help of a little bad Chinese, they were made to understand that one of them must come on board and pilot the vessel into the harbour; and he was promised ten dollars for his services if he took her in without any accident; but, if she touched ground, he was threatened to be immediately run up to the yard-arm, to atone either for his treachery or his misfortune, whichever it might be. The poor fellow was in a dreadful state of alarm, as may be supposed, for he had never even *seen* a steamer or devil-

ship before. But, when he was fairly fixed upon the paddle-box, and a running noose passed round his neck, in readiness to carry the threat of a swing in the air into execution, his terror could no longer be mastered. He was soon pacified, however, when he was again reminded that his punishment was only to happen in case of treachery on his part; and the renewed promise of ten dollars reward for good pilotage (although he scarcely expected ever to be paid) acted as a soothing balm to his bewildered spirit. He perfectly understood the conditions, and gradually recovered his self-possession.

The tide swept so rapidly into the narrow entrance of the harbour, that the Nemesis was fairly carried through the passage before the two small field-works, which were intended to protect it, could bring a single gun to bear upon the vessel; but the Chinese were seen running down from their little encampment above, to man the guns.

At the bottom of the harbour or basin, the town now came into full view, with a large number of trading-junks of every kind, moored in lines close to each other on one side of the town; while on the other, or the left, as you looked towards it, there was a small fort, which appeared to have been recently repaired and strengthened, but, like most other Chinese forts, was left almost unprotected in the rear.

Upon a rising ground behind the fort a small body of troops, about five or six hundred in number, were drawn up, so that the Chinese were evidently prepared for defence. The Nemesis immediately ran in towards

the fort, and took up a flanking position, anchoring by the stern between it and the town, so as to bring her guns to bear with the greatest advantage, without exposing herself to the direct fire of the fort. Shot, shell, and canister, were now poured in, and the fort was soon silenced. But the troops could now be seen descending from the hill behind, and bringing heavy ginjals with them, mounted on triangular stands, as if they intended to oppose a landing. However, a few discharges of grape-shot threw them into great disorder, killing many of them; Captain Hall then landed at the head of all the men who could be spared from the ship, accompanied by the unfortunate Mr. Gully, and took possession of the fort, the Chinese flying before them; four guns, two brass and two iron ones, were destroyed in the fort, the temporary sheds and buildings were set on fire, and water was poured into the magazine to destroy the powder. But it was not thought necessary to follow the Chinese, who had retreated to the hill again, nor to attempt to enter the town itself, from which no good result could be expected; indeed, the retreat of so small a party to the boats might in the mean time have been cut off, or, at all events, attended with some loss.

The whole party having now returned on board, boats were sent out, manned and armed, to search for fuel, and also to attempt to capture three large war-junks which had been seen on the way up the harbour. All the trading-junks were left unmolested; but wood for fuel was so much needed on board, that several of the wood-junks were soon picked out, well filled with the necessary article. The opportunity was extremely fortunate,

and in a short time no less than seven boat-loads of excellent wood were obtained, amounting in all to about seventy tons. Much labour was required to bring off so large a quantity, and to stow it away expeditiously; nevertheless, during this operation one of the war-junks was captured, (the crew having deserted her) and, as soon as she was towed clear of the town and shipping, so as not to cause any unnecessary damage, she was set on fire in the middle of the harbour, and shortly blew up. Two guns, together with a quantity of ginjals, matchlocks, swords, &c., were destroyed in her.

By eleven o'clock, the wooding-party had finished their labours; and, as a fresh body of troops appeared to be collecting near the town, the steamer again ran in, and poured a shower of grape and canister into the midst of them, which made them instantly disperse. It was now midday, and officers and men were thoroughly fatigued with their exertions since daylight; the steamer was therefore moved to the upper end of the harbour, while the men were quietly piped to dinner.

But the day's work was not finished yet. About two o'clock the cutters were sent away, manned and armed, under Mr. Galbraith, to destroy the other two war-junks which had been seen in the morning. One of them blew up close in shore, but the other was towed out into the middle of the harbour, before she was set on fire. One was found to mount fourteen guns, and contained a large quantity of powder, with numerous warlike implements of various kinds. Some of the common Chinese labourers ran down to the shore, to

endeavour to extinguish the fire on board the junk, which was aground; but they were instantly driven off by a few round shot.

The whole of this day's work was exceedingly interesting. The hills which surrounded the harbour were covered with people, who crowded out of the town, and from all the neighbouring villages, to witness the exploits of the "devil-ship," the rapidity of whose movements, the precision of her fire, and the volumes of smoke and steam which issued from her, seemed to awaken feelings of awe and mute astonishment, even more than fear. There they stood for hours, apparently unconcerned spectators of passing events; and, as they saw the destruction of the war-junks, while the merchant-junks remained uninjured, they appeared satisfied that no mischief was threatened against the unarmed inhabitants, so long as they did not interfere. The neighbourhood of the town along the shore was laid out in very neatly-cultivated gardens, and every thing bore indications of a thriving and well-ordered community.

The day was now far advanced, and it only remained to capture the two forts or field-works upon the island, just within the mouth of the harbour. A shot or two had previously been fired at them in the course of the morning, but it was now determined to take possession of them, and destroy the works. On nearing them, a few shells and rockets were discharged into them, and the boats then put off manned and armed. The Chinese had only just abandoned them. The two field-works were very near each other, and were found to mount

nine guns, which were spiked, their carriages destroyed, and the tents of the soldiers were set on fire.

About five o'clock the Nemesis again made her way out of the harbour without any accident, and without having suffered any casualty among the men throughout the whole day's arduous work, in which Mr. Freeze (mate, R.N.), the chief officer, and Mr. Galbraith, the second, bore a conspicuous part. Good service had been rendered, not only by the destruction of the enemy's works and vessels, and by obtaining so large a supply of the much-needed fuel, but by the moral impression which was created among the people, both of our power and of our forbearance. The important news could not fail of being spread abroad far and near, so as to reach the inhabitants of Ningpo and other places which the expedition was likely to visit.

The poor Chinese fisherman who had acted as pilot was of course liberated as soon as the harbour was cleared, and he appeared no less astonished than overjoyed when the promised ten dollars were counted out into his hands.

On the following day, the 18th, the Nemesis reached the appointed rendezvous at Buffalo's Nose, and found the Sesostris was the only vessel which had preceded her; the rest of the fleet having been kept back by contrary winds and hazy weather. When we remember what a large number of hired transports and store-ships passed up and down along the coast of China from this time to the close of the war, many of which had frequently a great part of their crew sick, we cannot but

be surprised[1] that so few accidents happened. The inaccuracy of the surveys of the coast which had been then made; the wrong position on the charts of most of the numerous islands which stand out as bulwarks at very uncertain distances from the shore; the strength and unknown irregularities of the currents, and the heavy squalls which frequently burst suddenly over that part of China, rendered the navigation precarious, and frequently caused the utmost anxiety. Occasionally the captains found themselves inside of islands, when they believed that they were some distance outside; and I well remember, on one occasion, making the voyage up to Chusan in a fast-sailing brig-of-war, which just weathered a long, rocky island called the Alligator, and at noon discovered it to have been laid down upon the chart full twenty miles wrong in its latitude; an error which can scarcely be accounted for.

It may be interesting here to mention, that, as we passed the island, we fancied that we could make out three or four men standing upon its rocky, barren summit, and making signals to the vessel, as if they were in distress. The brig was ordered to stand on and off under the lee of the island, while a boat was sent on shore, well manned, in charge of an officer, who had some difficulty in landing. The men now turned out to be four Chinamen, looking like half-savages, with

[1] To show how sickly the coast of China is, *in some seasons*, it may be mentioned, that on board the Lion, which conveyed Lord Macartney's embassy to China in 1792, no less than ninety-three men were put upon the sick list in less than a week after she came to anchor on the upper part of the east coast.

very little clothing. They gave no indication of a desire to be taken off the island, probably through fear. As far as their signs could be understood, they seemed prepared to live and die there; and it was suspected that they were convicts sent over from the mainland, but they were under no control. The island appeared perfectly barren; and their only food seemed to be composed of various kinds of shell-fish, which they found upon the shore; and the shells of those which they had eaten remained in large heaps, so that they must already have spent considerable time upon the island. Their only habitation was a small cavern in the rock: the only wood for firing was such as was casually washed on shore; and they had no other water than what they could collect in the holes among the rocks during the rains.

The strength of the currents among the Chusan islands, and the continued boisterous weather, made it difficult to collect all the transports at the appointed rendezvous. The Admiral did not get up until the 21st; and the General, being on board a large transport which had been carried far down to leeward, did not join until the evening of the 25th.

In the mean time, the Nemesis had gone to join the Phlegethon at Keeto Point, where the sad tale was learnt of one of the officers of the Lyra (an opium vessel), Mr. Wainwright, and one of the crew, having been enticed on shore, under the pretence of selling them stock, and of their having been then overpowered and cruelly murdered. This event occurred very near the village where Captain Stead had been murdered some

months before. Lieutenant M'Cleverty soon afterwards landed with his crew, accompanied by Lieutenant Crawford and the commanders of the Lyra and Ann, and soon put to flight a party of Chinese soldiers, burnt their barracks, and then destroyed a great part of the village.

As soon as the Nemesis arrived, no time was lost in landing to examine the adjacent country, which was very picturesque and beautifully cultivated. But the recollection of the cruel fate of the poor fellows who had been so recently captured, and, as was believed, barbarously put to death there, with the sight of the very spots where the sad occurrences took place, awakened feelings of bitterness, and a wish for retaliation, which it was impossible to suppress. In a very short time, every thing that remained undestroyed was set on fire, including various buildings, stacks of rice and grass, &c.; and, as darkness set in, the whole valley appeared lighted up with the blaze of the spreading fires. Several pigs were luckily captured on the way back, and served as fresh food for the men, which was much needed.

Numerous trading junks were passing and repassing during the few days the Nemesis was at anchor at Keeto Point, and they were frequently searched to look for fuel. A large one, completely laden with this necessary article, was detained, and brought alongside, and her captain proceeded to count out the billets of wood, as if he thought he was sure to be very handsomely rewarded. Great were his lamentations, when he found that nothing was forthcoming in exchange, and, above all, that his beloved boat or junk was to be altogether

detained for the present. The reason was obvious, namely, that she was wanted to go and fetch water for the ship, and, moreover, that if she were allowed to depart, she would spread such an alarm, that no more wood-boats would ever venture to approach a steamer again in that quarter.[1]

At length, all the transports were assembled, according to a preconcerted arrangement, just off the little island called "Just in the Way;" as it was the original plan laid down by the General and the Admiral to occupy Ningpo, after having first captured the heights of Chinhae, which command the entrance of the Tahae river, which leads up to Ningpo. Chusan was to have been retaken afterwards. The boisterous state of the weather, however, prevented the ships from approaching near enough to Chinhae, to carry out this part of the plan; and it was, therefore, determined to make an immediate reconnoissance of the harbour and defences of Chusan, or rather of its capital town, Tinghai; this was accordingly carried into execution on the following day, the 26th of September.

The Admiral and General, together with the Plenipotentiary and suite, embarked early in the morning on board the Phlegethon, the Nemesis being ordered to accompany them. As they approached Chusan, the alarm was given by the Chinese, from numerous watch-towers, or rather signal stations erected upon the hills, or upon the tops of the several islands which lie in the immediate neighbourhood. Great changes had evidently

[1] Subsequently, the poor fellow was paid the full amount of his claim, by the orders of the Admiral.

taken place since our forces left Chusan, a few months before; and preparations of an extensive kind had been rapidly made for the defence of the place. As the steamers entered the principal harbour, by its western side, between the so-called Tea Island and Guard Island, the Chinese opened a few guns at them, but at too great a distance to do any damage; and as there was no wish to attack them in a desultory manner, the steamers were ordered to keep at a good distance, but to direct their movements so as to get a complete view of all the Chinese positions.

The rapidity of the tides, in the different channels leading into the harbour, is so great that large vessels sometimes become perfectly unmanageable; and even powerful steamers found it difficult to stem the current.

Nothing can be more striking or picturesque than the views on every side, as you approach Chusan. Much as you may have read of the careful cultivation and economical husbandry of the Chinese (not always so great as supposed), you are here particularly struck with the garden-like aspect of every spot of ground you see. The country is hilly on all sides, but every hill is cultivated with extreme care, up to its very summit. It is divided into small ridges, or beds, in which various productions are raised, side by side, giving the greatest possible variety to the aspect of the country, and pointing out the vast labour and perseverance with which the tillage must be conducted, "to subdue the stubborn soil." It is almost entirely spade-husbandry, and ought rather to be called horticulture.

In the low valleys, and little sheltered nooks, you

trace villages and farm-houses of neat appearance; and every bend of the coast, every little bit of low, swampy ground, is embanked and recovered from the sea by long, thick, stone walls, which are maintained with the utmost care. Behind these, the ground is laid out in rice-fields, irrigated with much ingenuity, and there is a general appearance of well-being and industry, which indicates a thriving and contented population. How different from the aspect of Hong Kong, and the other islands to the southward! But it would give an exaggerated idea of the general productiveness of the empire, to suppose that every part of it is cultivated in a similar manner. Generally speaking, the island of Chusan, with some of the smaller ones adjacent to it, may be considered as among the most picturesque and fertile spots in the north of China, as far as it was visited by the expedition, and the loss of this possession was deeply felt by the Emperor, of which, as he said, "he read the account with fast falling tears."[1]

The great and rapidly completed preparations which were found to have been made for the protection of the island prove the importance with which it was regarded.

The city of Tinghai, the capital of Chusan, is a walled town of the third class, about two miles in circum-

[1] In some of the most barren parts of Tartary, where the people with difficulty obtain the means of subsistence, remarkable care is bestowed upon the cultivation of patches of ground, only a few yards square, upon the side of the most rugged mountains. Æneas Anderson says, "Upon a very high mountain in Tartary (on the road to the imperial residence), I discovered patches of cultivated ground in such a position as to appear altogether inaccessible. Presently I observed one of the poor husbandmen employed in digging a small spot near the top of a hill, where, at first sight, it appeared impossible for him to stand, much less to till the

ference, having four entrances, with double-arched gate-ways, situated at right angles to each other, according to the usual Chinese practice. The greater part of the town is surrounded by a wet ditch or canal, which adds very much to the natural unhealthiness caused by imperfect drainage, (owing to the lowness of its situation) and by the swampy rice-grounds, which occupy the whole valley. Indeed, were it not protected by a raised bank running along the face of the harbour, from which the city is three quarters of a mile distant, the whole of the valley in which the town is situated would frequently be flooded. It was upon this raised bank that the great line of sea battery, presently to be described, had been recently erected. A narrow causeway and a shallow canal connect the city with a village, at which is the principal landing-place of the harbour, situated at the foot of a steep, conical hill, which stands about the centre of the whole sea-face of the valley or plain, which may be about three miles broad. The latter is bounded by steep hills on either side, which stretch down close to the city, and command the western face of the walls.

The hill at the landing-place, which came to be known by the name of Pagoda Hill, is a very striking object from every point of the harbour. The appear-

ground. I soon noticed that he had a rope fastened rouud his middle, by which he let himself down from the top, to any part of the precipice where a few square yards of ground gave him encouragement to plant his vegetables. Situated as these spots are, at considerable distances from each other, and considering the daily fatigue and danger of this man's life, it affords an interesting example of Chinese industry, stimulated by necessity."—*See Anderson's Embassy of Lord Macartney.*

ance of a temple upon it, and several small detached buildings, which had been recently built as prisons for the English, whom the Chinese *intended* to capture, and the steepness of its summit, gave it an appearance of strength, which it did not possess.

Directly opposite Pagoda Hill are two small islands, called Trumball and Macclesfield Islands, which bound the harbour on the eastern side, and upon the nearest of these a mortar-battery was afterwards erected, for the purpose of shelling Pagoda Hill.

To the southward the harbour is shut in by the highly-cultivated and considerable island called Tea Island; while on its western side, at the extremity of the long sea-battery, lies the small island called Guard Island, only separated by a very narrow passage called the Devil's Gates from the hills which overlook the valley.

As the two steamers now entered the inner harbour by the western passage, leaving Guard Island on the left, they immediately came in sight of a long line of continuous works, constructed of mud, along the top of the whole line of embankment before described. It is strange that such a mode of defence should have been adopted; for the flank of the battery was completely commanded by the range of steep hills running up to the very city itself. Upon the nearest hills, however, at the end of the battery, the Chinese had formed a fortified encampment, in which there appeared to be a large body of troops; and in a hollow at the foot of it there was an unfinished stone fort, intended to mount eight guns. But they had placed their principal reliance upon the line of mud-batteries fronting the har-

bour, and had run piles and stakes along the water's edge, to prevent our troops from landing from the boats, as if they imagined that a battery could only be attacked in front, and partly perhaps to prevent the washing away of the soil.

The works had been hastily and unscientifically constructed, and consisted principally of heaps of mud, of a conical shape, raised upon the embankment, with embrasures between them for the guns. These intervals were so large, measuring generally from ten to fifteen feet wide, that it would be impossible for the men to stand to their guns, although the mounds of earth between them were about twenty to twenty-five feet broad. The line of battery extended far beyond the Pagoda or Joss House Hill to the eastward, but was not completed at that end. There were altogether nearly two hundred and seventy embrasures, but only about eighty guns mounted, exclusive of those in a newly-built redoubt upon Pagoda Hill, amounting to twelve or fifteen. Of these twenty-five were afterwards found to be of brass and copper, and tolerably well cast. Several improvements had been made by the Chinese for the strengthening of Pagoda Hill, since our evacuation of the place. They had retained the wall which we had formerly carried round the top of it, with an arched gateway of stone on the side looking inland towards the town. Other improvements were in progress; so that, if the attack had been delayed for some weeks longer, the Chinese would have completed their defences, as well as their want of science would permit. As it was, the authorities claimed for themselves the honour of "having fought with heavy toil for six

days and nights," reckoning the commencement of their so-called fighting from the day on which the steamers first approached to reconnoitre. Our forbearance was magnified into a great victory by them for the moment, at all events.

On the return of the steamers to the anchorage at Just in the Way, with the rest of the fleet, orders were given for the Nemesis to proceed on the following morning across to the Ningpo river, to reconnoitre Chinhae, &c., &c., but the weather proved so hazy and unsettled, that this purpose was deferred for the present. On the following day, the 28th, the weather still continued very squally, which prevented the fleet from moving; and the Admiral, therefore, gave orders that the Nemesis should proceed again to Chusan, in company with the Modeste and Columbine, (the whole under the command of Captain Eyres, of the Modeste) and they were directed to destroy the unfinished battery already mentioned, at the foot of the hills at the western extremity of the long line of works, and if possible set fire to the encampment on the hill above, or, at all events, disperse the Chinese troops. The object was evidently to prepare for the landing of our force at that point, in order to take the line of Chinese battery in reverse, and then march upon the town by the hills. In sailing across with a strong wind and sea dead ahead, the Columbine beat the Modeste with the greatest ease, so as to be able to spare her square mainsail; but the Nemesis beat them both with *half steam* under sail. The increasing severity of the weather obliged them all to come to anchor before they reached Chusan.

At daylight next morning the Nemesis was sent in alone, to reconnoitre, having Captain Eyres and Captain Clarke on board, and she soon discovered that the entrenched camp on the hill was stronger than had been supposed, and that the troops were collected in great strength at that point. As the steamer ran pretty close in shore, a smart but ineffective fire from large ginjals was opened on her from the entrenched camp; but the small stone fort below was quite silent, and, indeed, appeared to be unarmed. Having fired a few shot into the camp on the hill, in order to warn the Chinese of what they had to expect, the Nemesis speedily returned, to bring up the other two vessels; and these, as soon as they had come to anchor as close in shore as their draught of water would permit, immediately opened fire upon the entrenched camp above, and also at the fort below, in order to ascertain if it was occupied. As the Nemesis, however, could stand in much closer than the other vessels, Captain Eyres and Captain Clarke went on board her, and she was then carried within excellent range, and immediately poured in shot, shell, rockets, and carcases, with such remarkable precision, as to have been made the subject of special mention in the Admiral's despatch.

In a short time, the temporary buildings were demolished, and a breach was made in the wall of the fortified encampment. The proper moment for landing was now come; but, as the orders were positive not to come to close quarters with the enemy, but merely to reconnoitre their position, and prevent them from adding to their works of defence, no attempt was made to

carry the encampment. A small party of men were landed, but merely with a view to ascertain beyond a doubt that the small stone fort below was unarmed, and to make a hasty reconnoissance of the line of sea-battery, nearly a mile long, which connected this point with Pagoda Hill. A large body of Chinese troops were now seen forming under the brow of the hill in the rear, in order to make an attack upon the reconnoitring party; but a few well-directed shot from the steamer's guns immediately dispersed them.

The object of this little affair having been now fully accomplished, the Nemesis hastened to rejoin the admiral, with despatches from Captain Eyres. Sir William Parker was, however, already on his way over to Chusan in the Wellesley, and now, without loss of time, came on board the Nemesis, accompanied by the General, and ordered her to carry them once more across the harbour of Chusan. The Chinese again opened a distant and useless fire upon her as she passed, both in going and returning, as they had done on the former occasion.

In the course of the afternoon, several of the ships of war, and some of the transports, reached the outer harbour of Chusan, while the Blonde, Modeste, and Queen steamer, proceeded to take up a position under the two islands which lie opposite Pagoda Hill, and which were called Macclesfield (or Melville) and Trumball islands. They were directed to cover and assist a party of the Royal Artillery, under Captain Knowles, in erecting a battery of one 68-pounder gun, and two 24-pounder howitzers, upon the top of the ridge of the former

island, with a view to shell Pagoda Hill and its defences, which were within range, but rather distant. The Chinese continued firing very ineffectually during the whole time, in the direction of these islands, but their shot always fell short, and were consequently harmless.

The battery was finished on the following day, with great labour and skill. Every preparation for the attack being completed on the 30th, the dawn of the 1st of October was looked for with intense interest. At daylight the Nemesis again crossed and recrossed the inner harbour, for the purpose of embarking some troops which were on board the Jupiter, close to Trumball Island; they consisted of a portion of the Madras Rifles and a number of camp-followers. The Nemesis then proceeded to the transports in the outer harbour, to take on board part of the 49th regiment, together with a detachment of Sappers and Miners.

The Howitzer Battery, upon Melville Island, opened fire just as she was crossing from the inner harbour; and it was an interesting sight to watch the shells falling upon Pagoda Hill. The first shell was thrown merely to try the range, and fell rather short, but the second fell exactly within the fort, close to the gate, and it therefore became evident that the Chinese could not long hold out.

About the same time, the Queen steamer endeavoured to tow the Blonde frigate into a good position against Pagoda Hill and the adjacent defences, to aid the mortar battery; but, so great was the strength of the tide, which runs like a mill-race in that part of the harbour, that it was impossible to move the Blonde into a

good position, in spite of the utmost exertions used. But shortly afterwards the Modeste and Queen, drawing less water, were able to take up excellent stations; the battery on Pagoda Hill was soon silenced, and the troops were driven from their post.

While this was being effected at the eastern extremity of the inner harbour, the original design of driving the Chinese out of the long sea-battery, by turning their right flank at its western extremity, and by taking possession of the hills above them, upon which their encampment had been formed, was gallantly and effectually carried into execution. The Chinese troops at this time occupied the heights in force, although they had been dispersed two days before; and kept up a continued fire of ginjals and matchlocks, apparently more in defiance than for any useful purpose, for they frequently advanced to the brow of the hill, waving their flags, and daring their enemy to attack them.

The Wellesley had been moved as close as possible to the intended point of debarkation, just outside Guard Island; and the Cruiser and Columbine had been placed within two hundred yards of the beach, there being plenty of water almost close in shore. By the fire of these vessels and of the Sesostris steamer, the Chinese were so completely kept in check, that they could not attempt any opposition to the landing of the troops. The Phlegethon now came up with the 55th regiment on board. The first division, with the gallant General at their head, consisting of the Madras Artillery, with eight guns, under Captain Anstruther, together with a party of sappers and the 18th and 55th regi-

ments, with the Madras Rifles, were now landed, but not without some delay and difficulty, owing to the astonishing strength of the currents. The Nemesis was also coming up to land the troops she had on board, when she unfortunately grounded on a sand-bank, and was obliged to cast off the numerous boats she had in tow, before she could work herself off again, which caused considerable delay. The 49th were therefore not landed so soon as had been expected.

The firing of the steamers which covered the landing was kept up with so much precision, that more than one of the Chinese standard-bearers, who boldly advanced alone to the crest of the hill, waving their flags, were cut in two by a 32-pounder shot, just as if they had been aimed at with a rifle.

The two flank and the third companies of the 55th being first on shore, received a smart fire from the Chinese, who, up to this time, had kept themselves pretty well sheltered; and, as the remainder of the regiment followed close after the leading companies, and the 18th was not far behind, the advance was instantly sounded, and the 55th pushed up the hill, under the gallant Major Fawcett. The Chinese waved to them to come on, and opened a smart fire as they struggled up the steep hill, and knocked down several of the men. It was an exciting spectacle to watch them ascending the hill, while the ships continued firing until they reached the summit; and even then the Chinese showed no want of courage; the spear and the bayonet frequently crossed each other.

At length the Chinese were routed; and the hill,

being now in our possession, gave us the command of all the enemy's positions, which, by this means, were fairly turned. In this encounter, the first Chinese colours were taken by Lieutenant Butter, of the 55th.

In the mean time, the 18th and the artillery being landed, and some of the light guns having been placed so as to enfilade the long battery, the 18th pushed on gallantly, under Lieutenant Colonel Adams, to clear the line of sea-defences. The facility with which the flank of the Chinese positions had been turned did not seem, by any means, to discourage the Chinese, who fought, as they retreated, with great *individual* courage, several of the mandarins boldly advancing, sword in hand, to the attack. The loss on their side, as they were driven back along so narrow a line (for there was a deep paddy-field in the rear of the embankment upon which the battery was constructed) was necessarily great. The Chinese commander-in-chief and several Tartar officers were here killed. They were at length compelled to evacuate the whole line of sea-battery, the grenadier company of the 18th leading the way, in a spirited manner, under Captain Wigston.

Having cleared the whole of the works, the 18th soon made their way up the Pagoda Hill, without opposition, the Chinese having been already compelled to evacuate it by the admirable fire of the Royal Artillery, and of the Modeste and Queen on that side. The 49th, who could not be landed until the hottest part of the work was over, followed the 18th along the battery, but, on reaching a causeway or path about two-thirds of the way across, which appeared to lead

from the battery towards the city, they turned off at that point, and hurried on towards the south gate of the city to which it led.

In the mean time, the 55th pushed on along the hills, covered by the Rifles, which had now joined, to the heights overlooking the city on the north-west; and Captain Anstruther, with Captain Balfour and Lieutenant Foulis, with great exertion brought up the light field-guns of the Madras Artillery, to the summit of the heights, and opened their fire upon the walls, on which several guns were mounted on that side. The Madras Sappers had also brought scaling-ladders along the rugged hills, and the Rifles, were skilfully disposed along the edge of a deep ravine between the hills and the city walls, sheltered by the broken ground and by tombs (for it was the burial place of the city) with the object of cutting off the retreat of the Chinese by the northern gate.

While these operations were going on, the Admiral, accompanied by Sir Henry Pottinger, Captain Herbert, Captain Maitland, and Mr. Morrison, the interpreter, went on board the Nemesis, (which, after landing her troops, had come round the point of Guard Island into the inner harbour,) and were carried towards the Pagoda Hill, just as the 18th entered the works at the top of it. The Admiral and the rest of the officers immediately landed, and ascended the hill, from the top of which there is a splendid prospect of the whole plain beyond, and of the city, and from which a good view could be obtained of the operations against the latter.

The Nemesis was anchored as close in shore as possible; and Captain Hall, having got up to the mast-head, was able distinctly to see every thing that was going on, and to direct the fire of the steamer, so as to throw a few shells into the city, about three quarters of a mile distant. The other steamers very shortly afterwards also joined her in the inner harbour. The 55th could be seen climbing over the walls, the Chinese firing and retreating before them; and the British flag at last proudly floated over the fallen city. Three British cheers were given at this moment by soldiers and sailors together.

The capital of Chusan, with all its new and extensive defences, was now for the second time in our possession. The Chinese troops fled into the interior of the island, principally by the eastern gate; and if a detachment of our soldiers had been sent along the banks of the canal, which runs up into the plain on that side, probably a great number of the Chinese would have been cut off.

The loss of Ting-hai was attributed by the Chinese principally to the non-arrival of the expected reinforcements from the mainland, owing to the boisterous state of the weather; but they took care to assert that a foreign vessel "had blown up," and that the heavy toil of fighting for six days and nights had so completely worn out their troops, that they were unable any longer to resist.

The loss of the Chinese was considerable, both in the battery and on the hills. On our side, one officer (Ensign Duell) and one rank and file of the 55th were

killed, and nineteen rank and file of the same regiment wounded, many of them severely. Of the other troops engaged, eight rank and file were wounded, of whom half dangerously or severely. Besides the guns already enumerated, together with large ginjals, a vast number of matchlocks were found in the city, with upwards of five hundred tubs of powder, some bamboo rockets, and about one hundred cases of leaden balls.

The day after the capture, measures were adopted by the General, to endeavour to prevent the escape of the Chinese troops from the island, by the numerous little harbours or creeks from which they could get away in boats to the mainland. Three different detachments of our soldiers were sent out by separate routes to scour the island, while the Nemesis and other vessels were sent round to convey provisions, and to blockade the landing-places, or villages on the coast. By this means, it was hoped "that every one of the fugitives would either be driven off the island or captured." But all these little marchings and countermarchings were quite fruitless; not a soldier was seen in any direction; the facility of disguise and concealment, and also of escape to the mainland, being very great.

It may be doubted whether these movements, instead of tending to bring the native Chinese population into submission, did not rather serve to keep alive or to increase their natural feeling of dislike to the foreigner. In fact, the inhabitants of the Chusan Islands are generally a hardy and independent race of people, and up to the close of the war, it never

could be said that we really had possession of more than the actual city within the walls of Tinghai and its suburbs on the sea-shore. No one could move even to a distance of two or three miles from the walls, without having a strong escort with him, or running the risk of being kidnapped by the people. Many private soldiers and camp followers were in this manner cut off; and at length orders were issued that none but the Chinese should be permitted to pass through the northern gate at all.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Military government of Chusan—Remarks on the town of Tinghai—The great bell—Notices of Chusan—Not adapted for commercial purposes—A visit to the interior—Interesting observations of a Chinese gentleman—Civility of the people—Remarks on our commercial prospects in China—Necessity of barter—Difficulties—Preparations for the capture of Chinhae—Its position—Defences of the Ningpo river—Chinhae captured, 10th of October, 1841—Military and naval operations, on both sides of the river, described—Suicide of Chinese officers—The Emperor's remarks respecting the Viceroy—Public honours—Attentions of the English to the wounded Chinese—Remarks on Chinhae and on Chinese inventions—Use of torture and cruel modes of inflicting death—Burial of murdered Englishmen—Instrument for pounding women to death—Humanity towards the Chinese prisoners.

A few days after the occupation of the capital of Chusan, a regular military government was established by Sir Henry Pottinger, protection being promised to the well-behaved inhabitants, who were moreover informed that "several years would probably elapse, before the island would be restored to the authority of the Emperor." Thus it was evidently contemplated, even at that time, that the island should not be restored to the Chinese, until long after the conclusion of peace. It was, in fact, to be retained for some time,

as a guarantee for the good faith of the Chinese government.

The principal alterations which had taken place at Tinghai, since it was given up by the English seven months before, were found to be merely the addition of the defensive works already described, and, to a certain degree, increased cleanliness within the city. The suburbs at the landing-place had been in part pulled down, or altered to make way for the batteries, while other parts had been abandoned, and were afterwards pulled down by our own orders during the ensuing winter, to give a better circulation of air, and more room for the detachment quartered there. The ruins furnished good firewood, which is much needed during the winter; for the extremes both of heat and cold are felt along the northern coast of China, according to the season of the year. In other respects, the so-called horrors of war fell extremely lightly upon the inhabitants; indeed, they were in most instances benefitted by our presence, and by the circulation of money which we spent among them.

Occasional examples of hardship necessarily occurred in the first instance, among which that of the bursting of a shell in a house in which a poor woman and her two children were killed, while the husband was mortally wounded by the explosion, could not fail to excite the greatest sympathy. But happily there were no instances of that voluntary self-murder, which, in other cities, subsequently taken, became so appalling; they seemed limited to the Tartar population.

Generally speaking, our soldiers appeared to look

down upon the Chinese too much to do them wanton injury. Two of the 18th Royal Irish were overheard conversing together, soon after the place was taken; and the one was congratulating the other upon his escape, having been supposed to be killed. "Why, I heard you were picked off by the Chinese!"—"Is it *me?*" said the other—"the devil a bit; for it's by a European I'll be killt, and not by a Chinaman."

Several instances occurred, in which the inhabitants of the town, particularly the boys, recognized the officers and some of the men of the 18th, who had been there on the previous occasion, and voluntarily came to offer their services again, with every appearance of being pleased to see their former masters.

It must not be imagined that the capital of Chusan is at all a fine town, or in any way to be compared with others upon the mainland which we afterwards captured or visited. Even the walls, though of small extent, enclose a larger space than is actually occupied by the town itself; and, indeed, with few exceptions, this appears to be generally the case in China. The streets are extremely narrow, being mere lanes; the shops are very poor, and comparatively insignificant; and the houses are all low, but some of them, including the courts within, occupy a large space of ground.

There is one building, however, which attracts universal attention, as being one of the finest specimens of its kind. It is the principal temple of the city, dedicated to the worship of Foo, or Budha. In many respects it is superior to the temple at Hainan, opposite Canton, and is scarcely second to the principal of the

numerous temples which adorn the sacred island of Pooto, about twenty miles from Chusan, which is famous for the number and elegance of its places of superstitious worship, and for the hosts of priests, or rather monks, which are attached to them. There is belonging to this beautiful temple of Tinghai, standing in a detached half-ruined building, and apparently never used, one of the most beautiful bells met with in China. It is quite equal to the one which was afterwards taken at Ningpo, and was subsequently sent to Calcutta. It is of very large size, but somewhat different in shape from our own, and is covered on the outside with Chinese characters, beautifully formed. Its tone is clear and deep; indeed, the Chinese appear to excel in the art of making bell-metal. It was worthy of being removed and carried to this country; not so much as a trophy, for such it could not be called, but as an interesting specimen of Chinese workmanship, and of the advanced state of some of their oldest arts and inventions.

Some interest attaches to the island of Chusan, from the fact of its having once been the site of an English factory. It is about fifty miles in circumference, of an oblong shape, being about twenty miles in length by ten in breadth. The principal harbour of Tinghai is difficult of approach, owing to the astonishing rapidity of the currents or tides, the rise and fall of which varies from six to twelve feet; the passages are in some parts narrow, with deep water.

Chusan and all the neighbouring islands are extremely mountainous, but between the ridges of the hills are

rich and beautiful valleys, which are highly productive, being well supplied with water. The industry and care with which the Chinese embank the opening of every valley towards the sea are remarkable; not a foot of ground is wasted; and every little nook or bay which can be reclaimed from the sea is cultivated with the most assiduous care. The beautiful cultivation of the hill-sides has already been alluded to, so that it is not surprising that the island is capable of exporting a large quantity of produce to the mainland. For general commercial purposes, however, little advantage could have been derived from the permanent retention of Chusan; the population of the island is not large; and, with the port of Ningpo within a few hours' sail, and open to our vessels, there could have been no compensating benefit to make up for the expense of a permanent settlement upon an island in its neighbourhood.

The East-India Company's factory was built in 1700, not far from the present landing-place in the suburbs of Tinghai; but the exactions of the Chinese officers, the expense of the establishment, and the little prospect of carrying on a successful trade, compelled them to abandon it three or four years afterwards. In short, the internal trade of the island must always be insignificant; and vessels which frequent the harbour depend almost entirely upon the visits of Chinese merchants who come over from the mainland to seek merchandize, which they would much more gladly purchase when brought to their own doors at Ningpo, by which means they would save expense and trouble.

The importance of the temporary possession of Chu-

san is certainly great, particularly as long as the arrangements for the opening of the new ports are not entirely completed. But its value, as a *political* measure, is much enhanced by the moral effect it has had upon the government and people of China, who look upon the Chusan islands as among their most valuable possessions, the loss of which was peculiarly felt by the Emperor.

In the commencement, the principal inhabitants of the interior showed a great disinclination to have any dealings with us, and the common people frequently proved themselves decidedly hostile to us. The kidnapping of our soldiers will be alluded to hereafter; but that was more frequently attempted by men sent expressly over for the purpose, from the mainland, than by the peasantry of the island itself. Gradually, however, all classes improved in their tone and bearing; and, during an excursion which I myself made, in company with a missionary, at the close of the war, we found the people commonly civil and obliging, and rarely disinclined to hold intercourse with us. In several instances, we were invited into the houses of respectable individuals, who invariably turned the conversation upon mercantile matters.

On one occasion, a very respectable-looking man, who inhabited a well-furnished house, invited us in, and offered us pipes and tea, and then produced a work, written in Chinese by Mr. Gutzlaff, setting forth, as I understood, the advantages of foreign trade *to* the Chinese, and pointing out a great number of articles which could be exchanged between them and the English with great mutual advantage. The book was furnished with geographical

maps, and was intended also to remove some of the absurd Chinese theories and prejudices concerning the various nations of the earth, and the relations of China with the rest of the world. Great interest had evidently been awakened by the perusal of the work, and the man assured us that he had lent it to several of his neighbours. He stated his great wish to enter into trading speculations with the English, and that he and some of his friends had projected the formation of a company, or hong, with this object. But the great difficulty which occurred to them was, as to the means of paying us, or rather as to what articles they could find to offer us in exchange for our manufactures. It was clear to them that there must be a *reciprocal* trade; but they had difficulty in knowing what we would take, or what they could procure which would be likely to suit foreigners.

It must not be supposed that there can be an *unlimited* production of tea in China; its cultivation is limited to almost two districts, and it requires peculiar conditions of soil and of climate to enable it to be cultivated to advantage. A great *sudden* increase in the demand for tea would lead to an enormous increase in the adulteration of the article by all kinds of spurious leaves; and nothing is more easy than to fabricate a mixture which will resemble in all its external appearances any *description* of tea which may be most in demand; and this fabricated mixture can be added to the real tea, in greater or lesser quantity, so as not easily to be detected, except by very experienced persons. The tea-plant requires three years' growth before it will

produce leaves fit to be plucked for tea. At Chusan, the plant appeared to grow wild, or nearly so, upon some of the mountains, but of inferior quality, and only fit for native use.

The various questions asked by this Chinese gentleman (for so he might be called) were extremely intelligent, and much to the purpose. On pointing out to him that he might feed *sheep* upon the hills around him, and eat their flesh, and clothe himself in winter with their wool, his only reply was, that he did not understand the care of them, nor had ever indeed seen any, but he thought the attempt would prove a failure. His manners were agreeable and gentlemanlike; and, on taking our leave, he accompanied us through the village, and pointed out the tomb of his ancestors, which had previously struck us as a remarkably fine stone monument, or rather cemetery, situated in a field by the road-side. He bowed gracefully as we parted, and expressed his hope that we might be induced to visit him again.

These are the favourable opportunities of cultivating the good will of the people, and of making ourselves acquainted with their manners and habits, while we communicate friendly information to them, which cannot be too carefully and judiciously cultivated. Good tact, and a familiar knowledge of the world, (for human nature is nearly the same in all parts) with a scrupulous regard for customs, and delicacy in violating prejudices, are at least as necessary to enable us to make our way in China, as in other quarters. And while we take care not to place blind confidence, we cannot be too careful

how we exhibit a contemptuous mistrust of them in our social intercourse. We may assert our right to be treated with the utmost respect and deference on all occasions, without assuming for an instant an overbearing tone or a repulsive demeanour. We must respect *ourselves*, and we shall not find it difficult to enforce respect from them.

In reference to the commercial questions mentioned above, it is not here the place to discuss points which are difficult and tedious to develop. But I again call attention to the shrewd remark above quoted, that we must endeavour to find out what we can procure from the Chinese besides tea and silk, rhubarb and cassia, and encourage them to seek out some articles of raw produce, which they can give us in exchange. There are numerous mineral productions in China, of which we know little; their processes of smelting, &c., are tedious and defective, yet labour is abundant to overflowing in all parts of China.

To return to the operations of our combined forces. As the season for active measures, before the complete setting in of winter, was already far advanced, little time was to be lost in carrying into execution the proposed movement upon Chinhae and Ningpo. The latter city, from its size and situation, would afford excellent winter quarters for the main body of our troops; and the moral effect upon the Chinese government and people, of the continued occupation of so important a place, and the interruption of their valuable trade, could not fail to make an impression calculated to facilitate our future negotiations.

In the mean time, the expected reinforcements would have arrived, both from England and from India, and the next campaign would be opened with vigour, and would suffice, it was hoped, to conclude the war. Ningpo, which is a city of the first class, and therefore called Foo (Ningpo-Foo) is the chief city of a department, and the second city in the province of Che-Keang, of which the capital is Hang-Chow-Foo. The population of the province, according to Chinese documents, numbers upwards of 26,000,000 souls, or very nearly as much as the whole of Great Britain and Ireland together.

The town of Ningpo is situated twelve miles up the Tahea, or Ningpo river, at the mouth of which is the small town of Chinhae, at the base of a high hill, which commands the entrance of the river. The possession of Chinhae, therefore, and its citadel, would give us complete command of the approach to Ningpo; just as the capture of Chapoo (which was effected in the subsequent campaign) would lay open the road to Hang-Chow-Foo, the capital; and that of Woosung, which was soon afterwards taken, would give us free access to the valuable trading-city of Shang-hae. It could not be doubted that the interruption of trade, and the stoppage of the imperial revenues derived from it, would make far deeper impression upon the cabinet of Pekin, than sweeping off thousands and tens of thousands of the people, whose lives are so quaintly said to be "very tenderly cherished in the paternal bosom of the Emperor."

A small garrison only was to be left in possession of

Chusan, but the embarkation of the rest of our force was delayed for some days, by the continuance of contrary winds. The exposed situation of Chinhae also made it hazardous to approach it with a fleet, until the weather should assume a more settled appearance. At length, on the 8th of October, the greater part of the transports were moved to the anchorage at "Just in the Way," nearly half way across to the mouth of the Ningpo river. At the same time, the General and the Admiral, accompanied by Sir Henry Pottinger, who was never absent when active operations were going on, proceeded in the Nemesis and Phlegethon steamers to reconnoitre the Chinese positions, and to form their plans for the intended attack. Everything was now extremely favourable for this purpose, considering the advanced season; and the Chinese allowed the steamers to approach quite close, within short range, without firing a shot. Perhaps they were afraid to provoke an attack, or remembered the very wise precaution given on other occasions, that they should not be the first, "in their eagerness to win honours," to commence the attack on the barbarians.

The city of Chinhae lies at the foot of a hill, upon a tongue of land, on the left bank of the river, or upon the northern side of its entrance; and its castellated walls are not much less than three miles in circumference, connected with a substantial stone enbankment which runs up the coast for a distance of full three miles, for the protection of the land from the encroachments of the sea. The chief strength of the position, however, lies in the precipitous, rocky height, which, rising abruptly from

the sea, at the extremity of the peninsula, and throwing out a rugged spur, completely commands the entrance of the river. Upon its summit, which may be about two hundred and fifty feet high, a sort of citadel had been formed, having a large temple for its commanding point, connected by loop-holed walls with various other buildings, which had been put in a state of preparation for defence.

The outer wall had two iron-plated gates; but the only direct communication between the citadel and the city was on the west, or land side, where a steep but tolerably regular causeway led to a barrier gate at the bottom of the hill, whence it was continued by a wooden bridge over a gorge to the gates of the city itself. In front of the other, or eastern gate of the citadel, there was a newly-constructed battery, formed partly of sand-bags, and partly of masonry, mounting, altogether, twenty-one guns.

Adjoining the suburbs of the city, on the river side, there were also two flanking batteries for the protection of the river, mounting, respectively, twenty-two and nineteen guns; while, on the opposite side of the isthmus, lying between the hill and the city walls, there was a small battery of five guns pointing towards the sea, with a row of piles driven into the beach in front of it, in order to impede the landing of an enemy. For further protection on that side, a number of guns and a large quantity of ginjals were mounted upon the city walls, principally fronting the sea. The information obtained led the General to suppose that there were about three thousand

soldiers in the city, and upon the works outside of it, while about seven hundred garrisoned the citadel; but the Chinese official returns were afterwards found, in which the details were minutely given. The actual number was about five hundred less than supposed. The Chinese had by no means limited their defences to the northern side of the river only. On the contrary, there was good reason to believe that the great body of their troops and their strongest positions were upon the other or southern side of the river, where there was a range of steep hills, overlooking the citadel-hill and the city itself.

On this side there were several strong batteries facing the entrance to the river, mounting altogether thirty-one guns, while the line of heights above was strongly fortified, having a chain of entrenched camps along the points most difficult of approach, with several field redoubts, armed with guns and ginjals; in short, neither expense nor labour had been spared to defend, as far as Chinese ingenuity and art could avail, the approach to the important city of Ningpo.

The river itself was strongly staked across just within the entrance, the obstruction being commanded by the batteries. A little lower down to the southward below the river, in a small bay, there was a creek, with a good landing-place at the foot of the hills, and the entrance to it was staked across in a similar manner. The importance which the Chinese appeared to attach to the defence of these positions rendered it the more necessary that they should be reduced, in order to convince them, by the hard lesson of experience, that the utmost efforts

of their skill and perseverance were unavailing against the science and the courage of Europeans.

On the following day, the 9th of October, the squadron and the transports (the best-sailing ones having been selected for the purpose) were able to anchor off Chinhae, in the most convenient positions for the intended operations, which were to be carried into effect early on the following morning.

From the description above given, it will at once become evident that our operations against the main body of the Chinese troops, on the southern side of the river, would be undertaken by the land forces, under Sir Hugh Gough in person, while those against the citadel and town of Chinhae, and the works on the northern side of the river, would be entrusted principally to the naval branch of the expedition, under Sir William Parker. It was arranged that a body of men should be ready to land on that side, composed of the Seamen's Battalion and the Royal Marines, with a detachment of the Royal and Madras Artillery, the whole under the command of Captain Herbert, of the Blenheim.

The Wellesley, Blenheim, Blonde, and Modeste, were to take up positions as close as possible in shore on that side, but avoiding, if possible, the chance of taking the ground at low water, with the object of shelling the Chinese out of the citadel, and of preventing reinforcements from being sent up to it, and also to open a landing-place for the seamen and marines. They were also to drive the Chinese from the walls of the city on that side, and cover the landing. The Cruiser, Columbine, and Bentinck, were to be employed on the

southern side of the entrance of the river, taking up their positions so as to cover the landing of the troops at the mouth of the creek already mentioned. The Queen and Sesostris steamers were to throw shells into the citadel, and into the batteries along the river, or, according to circumstances, into the Chinese encampments on the hills on the south side; while the two iron steamers, Nemesis and Phlegethon, were to land the troops, and then render assistance wherever their services might be most useful.

The movements of the troops will be best understood as we proceed. At daylight, on the morning of the 10th of October, the Nemesis took on board the whole of the centre column, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Morris, consisting of the 49th regiment, with a few of the Royal and Madras Artillery, and some Madras Sappers, amounting altogether to about four hundred and forty men, with forty shot-bearers, &c. There were also two 12-pounder howitzers, with two 9-pounder field-guns. The Nemesis then took in tow the Cruiser, sixteen guns, under Commander Giffard, who was to superintend and to cover the landing, and immediately proceeded to the point of debarkation, near the creek, on the flank of the Chinese positions. The post of honour was this day given to the 49th, in order that they might have an opportunity of making up for their disappointment at Chusan, where they were landed too late to take the active part in the day's work which had been assigned to them. At the same time, the left column, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Craigie, of the 55th regiment (accompanied by the

General himself and staff), was carried in by the Phlegethon to a rocky point a little further to the southward. There was a low flat and a canal, with two bridges over it, on their right, whence they could move round the hills to the rear of the position occupied by the Chinese. This column was the strongest, and comprised a wing of the 18th Royal Irish, five companies of the 55th regiment, the Madras Rifle Company, with one company of the Madras Artillery and some sappers; altogether 1040 men, with four light mountain howitzers, and two five and a half-inch mortars, with upwards of one hundred shot-carriers and followers.

The distance of the point of landing from the enemy's position was not less than a couple of miles; and thence they skirted along the hills, until they reached a commanding point, from which a full view was obtained of the whole of the positions. By this time, the centre column had formed without opposition; but a small body of Chinese troops, who had probably been placed in ambush, under cover of a low hill, were now discovered, and instantly dispersed by a few shot from the Nemesis.

The 49th now received orders to advance up the hill, which they did in gallant style; and, after clearing several field-works, their colours were soon displayed upon the principal redoubt overlooking the batteries on the river side. In this attack, Captain Reynolds and Lieutenant Browne, of the 49th, particularly distinguished themselves.

No sooner had that regiment got into close action than the 18th and the Rifles, on their left, having with

great difficulty got across a narrow and obstructed bridge, over the lower part of the canal (which might have been easily defended), and the 55th having crossed another bridge higher up, suddenly pressed round upon the Chinese right, and threw them into the utmost consternation. Many acts of individual bravery were witnessed on their part; some the result of real courage, others of sheer desperation. But the poor Chinese were fairly hemmed in by the 49th in front, and by the 55th and 18th, with the Rifles, on their right and in their rear. This manœuvre, as may be supposed, threw them into the utmost confusion. Their river batteries, being also by these movements taken in flank, were at once abandoned by their defenders, and a few of the guns were actually turned against the flying enemy the moment we took possession.

The havoc among the Chinese was inevitably great, for very few of them could be induced to lay down their arms, in spite of the exertions of the officers, aided by Mr. Thom, the interpreter, to make them understand that their lives would be spared. Hundreds of them, as a last resource, rushed madly into the river, and, of course, a great many were drowned; it is even said that their own batteries on the *opposite side* of the river killed a great many of them, either purposely for running away, or by aiming at our soldiers, who were driving the fugitives before them. Many committed suicide, including several high officers; but some of them escaped, after throwing away their arms and military clothing. About five hundred men surrendered themselves prisoners; and a few others, who had taken

shelter among the rocks along the river side, were subsequently picked up by the boats of the Queen steamer.

While these important successes were being obtained on the southern side of the river, no less active and effectual operations were being carried on upon the opposite or northern side, against the citadel and town of Chinhae. As soon as the Nemesis had landed the centre column, she ran up towards the flag-ship, the Wellesley, which had been towed into an excellent position by the Sesostris, to shell the citadel, but she settled quietly in the mud as the tide fell. The Blenheim had likewise been towed into a good position by the Sesostris, but the Blonde and Modeste were enabled to go in under sail with a light breeze. The terrific fire of these powerful ships was immediately opened upon the hill-fort with irresistible effect. Their precision in throwing shells was particularly remarked, and nothing could long resist their sustained fire.

On the Chinese side, the river batteries opened upon the Nemesis and Phlegethon, as they passed the river's mouth, and upon every vessel upon which they could bear, as they occasionally came within range, namely the Queen, Cruiser, &c. The Nemesis having passed beyond the flag-ship, ran in as close as possible to the town, and dispersed a body of Chinese, who were drawn up with their banners, &c., on that side, and also opened upon a small fort at the landing-place, between the Citadel-hill and the town; but she was then directed by the Admiral to proceed with orders to the Sesostris and the Queen.

Just at this moment (past eleven o'clock), the boats were ordered to push from their respective ships to land the right column, under Captain Herbert; and it was about this time also that the 49th on the south side of the river were seen to crown the hill, and carry the Chinese entrenchment in that direction.[1]

So severe and well-directed had been the fire of the ships, that the Chinese had been driven out of the temple upon the top of the Citadel-hill, and could be seen rushing down towards the city. The seamen and marines, having disembarked upon the rugged rocks at the mouth of the river, advanced to the assault with great rapidity up the hill, and entered the citadel, the gate of which had been left open by the Chinese as they fled.

The Chinese still manned the walls of the city below, which were about twenty feet high, and also the two batteries upon the river side before described. The marine and seamen battalion, therefore, pushed on to attack the city, and escaladed the walls in two places on the east side; the enemy making their escape through the western gate which led into the open country.

By this time, the batteries on the south side of the

[1] The right column consisted of

Seamen Battalion, under Captain Bourchier . .	400
Royal Marines, Major Ellis	276
Royal Artillery, with two five and a half inch mortars, and some 9 and 12-pounder rockets, Lieutenant the Honourable —— Spencer . .	23
Madras Sappers, Captain Cotton and Lieutenant Johnston, M.E.	30

river were also in possession of our troops, who now turned the guns upon the batteries on the city side of the river, near the water's edge. Captain Herbert's column was accompanied by the Admiral in person, who was one of the foremost to mount the walls.

Three explosions took place, during the attack, two near the top of the Citadel-hill, and one at a mandarin station near the river side. They were supposed to be mines, and two of them were fired by our rockets. Several Chinese suffered by the explosions.

The city of Chinhae, and the whole of the defences on both sides of the river, so much relied on by the Chinese, were in our possession by two o'clock; the Chinese troops were completely dispersed and panic-struck, many of the high officers being killed, and the whole people in the utmost consternation.

Captain Herbert retained possession of the town with the marines during the remainder of the day, and in the evening Sir Hugh Gough crossed over from the opposite side with a few of his troops, and joined Captain Herbert. The rest of our men bivouacked for the night upon the hills they had so bravely taken. The total number of guns which were found in the different works were no less than one hundred and fifty-seven pieces, of which sixty-seven were brass, many being very well cast, and of great weight. In the city was also discovered a cannon foundry, with every preparation for the casting of a great number of guns, including a large quantity of metal. There was likewise some *copper ore* found in the town, and a tolerable addition to the prize fund was thus secured.

The loss on our side was inconsiderable, amounting to three men killed and sixteen wounded, including one officer, Lieutenant Montgomerie, of the 49th regiment, which bore the principal brunt of the day. The loss of the Chinese is very difficult to estimate. But it amounted to several hundred killed and wounded, in the operations on both sides of the river.

Soon after the works were all in our possession, the Nemesis was sent some way up the river, to explore the navigation, having cleared for herself a passage through the stakes; and on her return to the Wellesley, late in the day, the Admiral, accompanied by Sir Henry Pottinger, proceeded in her to examine the river again.

If we may judge from the various memorials presented to the Emperor, after the fall of Chinhae, and his Majesty's replies to some of them, we must at once perceive how great a sensation the loss of this important place had made upon the people throughout the entire province. They were now alarmed for the safety even of Hang-Chow-Foo, the capital city. Nevertheless, the Emperor, far from showing any inclination to yield, continued to urge on more strenuously than ever the most extensive preparations for the defence of the province.

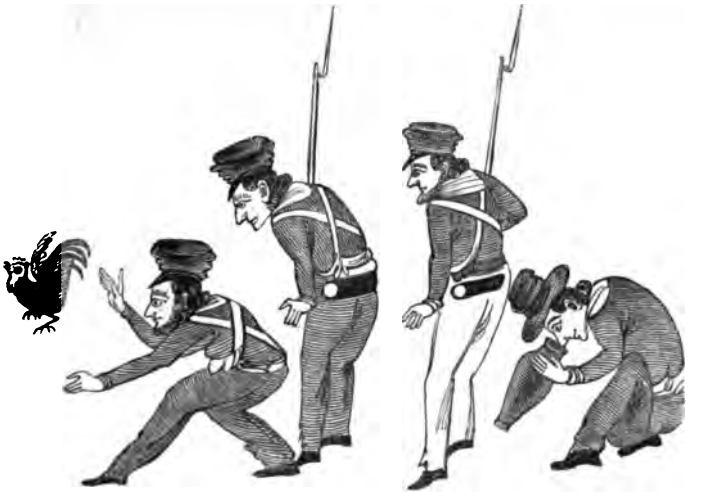
The death of the Imperial Commissioner, Yu-Keen, however, by suicide, immediately after the loss of Chinhae, seems to have awakened a feeling of compassion in the imperial bosom. His Majesty called to mind the death of the Commissioner's grandfather, in the same manner, during the reign of Kienlung; and directed that his departed servant, "who gave his life

for his country," should receive funeral honours of a high class, in the same temple of "faithful ministers," in which his ancestor had already found a place. The local officers were to pay every honour to his remains, in all the towns through which his body might pass on its way to Pekin. His Majesty further remitted all punishment for whatever might have been *recorded against him in his official capacity* at any period; as if there could be no doubt that every man who ultimately obtained high distinction in China must have been more or less a rogue at some period of his career.

Before the fighting at Chinhae commenced, Yu-Keen delivered his seals of office to a faithful officer, to be carried back to the provincial capital; and when at length he saw the day was lost, he coolly walked down to the river's bank, and there, having performed the ceremony of the Kotow, looking towards the imperial city, he threw himself into the water. It was afterwards ascertained that about fourteen more Chinese officers were killed, or else destroyed themselves.

Many of the wounded men were very carefully attended by our medical officers, to whom the greatest credit is due for their exertions in the cause of humanity. Several poor fellows submitted to amputation cheerfully, and most of them recovered. There was one poor woman accidentally wounded, who, with the written consent of her husband, underwent the operation for amputation of the leg, and for some days was cheerful, and went on well, but ultimately she died.

TARTAR AND ENGLISH SOLDIERS FIGHTING.



ENGLISH FORAGING PARTY.

It is an error to suppose that the Chinese are altogether averse to change any of their established practices, however opposed the government may be, as a matter of *policy*, to every kind of *innovation* in the usages of the people. In the strictly mechanical arts, no people are more ready to adopt, or more expert in applying, any new methods which they can comprehend, and which appear better adapted than their own to attain the desired object; but their *imitations* of things are notoriously ludicrous. At Chinhae, four newly-cast guns were found, precisely after the model of some carronades which had been recovered from the wreck of the Kite, and they were not by any means bad specimens.

In the construction of their new gun-carriages, several striking improvements had been copied from ours, and, in this and other instances, it was thought that they must have employed people to take sketches for them. The most remarkable innovation, however, and one which points out their extreme ingenuity, was the discovery of some machinery intended to be applied to the propulsion of their junks, resembling paddle-wheels. This curious invention has been alluded to in the early part of the work, but the actual machinery used for the purpose was now first discovered. There were two long shafts, to which were to be attached the paddle-wheels, made of hard wood, about twelve feet in diameter; there were also some strong wooden cog-wheels nearly finished, which were intended to be worked by manual labour inside the vessel. They were not yet fitted to the vessels; but

the ingenuity of this first attempt of the Chinese, so *far north* as Chinhae, where they could only have seen our steamers during their occasional visits to Chusan, when that island was before occupied by us, cannot but be admired.

A walk round the ramparts of Chinhae was sufficient to give a good idea of Chinese towns in general, and of the construction of their walls, which in some parts could not be less than forty feet thick. Beyond the town the long sea-wall was a remarkably fine specimen of masonry, composed entirely of large blocks of hewn granite, sloping upwards. The whole of China, in fact, appears to present to view astonishing instances of mixed civilization and barbarism, of advancement and of stagnation, in all the relations of life. Civilization appears to float upon the surface; you observe so much of social order and sobriety, and hear so much of paternal care and filial obedience, that you are half inclined to think they must be a very moral, humane, and happy people. Again, you witness such proofs of ingenuity, such striking results of industry and of combination of labour in their public works and buildings, canals, embankments, &c., that you are inclined to believe their institutions must have something good in them at bottom.

But, when you look a little deeper below the surface, you are astonished at the many evidences of barbarism and cruelty which militate against your first impressions. The use of torture in the hands of government officers is less striking, not only because it has been in use in Christian Europe within the last half century, but also

because, the obligation of an oath being unknown in China, as well as a future state of reward or punishment, there is in some cases no other mode of extracting evidence than this cruel, unjust, and much-abused instrument of violence. It is more difficult, however, to perceive why they should have exerted their ingenuity to produce revolting cruelty in their modes of inflicting death.

The manner in which the unfortunate Captain Stead and Mr. Wainwright were put to death at Chinhae, as it was afterwards discovered, (for they were only wounded and captured at Keeto Point) affords strong evidence of their cruel love for human suffering. The burial-place of these persons was pointed out outside the city wall, beyond a little moat which skirted them. It seemed to be the common burial-place for criminals after execution, and there was an archery-ground, with a target near at hand, for the practice of their favourite weapon. The bodies of our countrymen were found rolled up in stout mats, such as are commonly used for covering their floors. It was difficult to obtain from the Chinese any thing like correct information as to the precise mode in which the unfortunate sufferers were put to death; for, although both of them were at last beheaded, there is too much reason to believe that they were first of all most barbarously tortured.

The infliction of the punishment of death in China, by any mode which shall cause the mutilation of the body, is considered much more severe and degrading than death by strangulation, or without the shedding of blood; and the more the body is mutilated, the

greater is the punishment considered. The putting to death by "cutting in pieces," in which horrible operation decapitation is the climax, is, perhaps, never at present carried into effect. It is reserved, I believe, exclusively for rebellion and high treason. But the Chinese seem to take pleasure in inventing various cruel modes by which death *may be* inflicted, although probably they are not now used, if, indeed, they ever were. The most original and disgusting of all these methods, (of which, however, there was no evidence of its being used) was illustrated by the discovery, either at Chinhae or at Ningpo, of the model of a machine for *pounding women* to death. The original model was found in a temple, together with various others of a very extraordinary kind. It was very small, and was merely a model, but it represented a large oblong stone vase, in which the woman was to be placed, with the back of her head resting upon one extremity, (the long hair hanging over the side, and fastened to it) while her legs were to be secured to the other extremity. The horrible pounding process was to be effected by means of a huge stone pestle, large at the base and conical at the apex, similar to those which they use for pounding rice. The pestle, or cone, was fixed to the extremity of a long pole, the pole itself being fastened by a pin in the centre to an upright support, something in the manner of a pump-handle. The extremity of the handle being depressed by a man's weight, of course raised the cone, and, the pressure being removed, the heavy cone or pestle descended by its own weight, which was quite sufficient to pound one to pieces.

It was stated that at Chusan a stone tablet was found, upon which were carved the Emperor's orders, that every barbarian who fell into the hands of the authorities should be executed by a slow and ignominious death. We know, however, that, except in the case of the prisoners upon the island of Formosa, this horrible threat was in only rare instances carried into execution. On the contrary, the English prisoners were sometimes tolerably well treated. This undoubtedly arose from the forbearance which was shown on our part towards the Chinese themselves, and the humanity and kindness which their wounded and their prisoners invariably received from our officers and men, and which it was invariably the object of Sir Hugh Gough to promote and encourage. It is time, however, to return from these digressions, in order to accompany the main body of our troops up to the city of Ningpo.

CHAPTER XXX.

Ningpo river — Reconnoissance of the City — Ningpo occupied without opposition—Panic throughout the province—Alarm at Hang-chow-foo—Remarks on the seat of operations—Chekeang—Importance of the Imperial Canal — Measures adopted at Ningpo — Ransom demanded—Chinese plunderers—Bridge of boats—Excursion to Yuyow — Beauties of the country — Notices of Ningpo — Prize-money — Public granaries opened to the people—Chinese horses—Pagoda, and panorama of the country—Aspect of the town—Chinese etiquette—Want of scientific researches — Taste for English manufactures — Russian cloth manufactured in England for the Chinese overland trade—Wood-carving and varnishing—Sporting excursions—Abundance of game — Chinese treachery — Anecdotes — Second visit to Chinhae—View of the battle-field—Amusing incidents—Lady shamming dead—Infanticide—Visit to Chusan—Return to Ningpo.

The scenery at the mouth of the Ningpo river is very striking. High conical-shaped hills stand on either side; and, as the river makes a bend a short distance up, the fine mountains beyond come into full view, and add to the picturesque beauty of the spot.

On the 12th of October (the second day after the capture of Chinhae) the Admiral proceeded up the river in the Nemesis, in order to reconnoitre the city of Ningpo, and to ascertain the practicability of taking the larger steamers and the sloops up the river. In all respects, the river much exceeded the expectations formed of it. It was found to be wide and easily navi-

gable up to the city, with not less than fourteen feet water close under the city walls. It was also ascertained that no preparations had been made for defence, as the positions which the Chinese had taken up at the entrance of the river had been considered by them as quite strong enough to prevent the approach of an enemy. The people were seen hurrying out of the city gates, in every direction, in the greatest consternation. It was therefore evidently requisite that our forces should move up as soon as possible, not so much to take advantage of the prevailing panic, as to anticipate the departure of so many of the respectable families out of the city, and to induce them to remain there under promise of protection. Otherwise, it was very evident that the place would be entirely at the mercy of all the lowest classes of the people, and would soon become devastated by the ravages of a licentious and uncontrolled mob. The authorities had all fled, and the city appeared to be in complete disorder.

No time was to be lost. With the exception of the necessary garrison left at Chinhae, consisting of the 55th regiment (excepting the light company), with one hundred Royal Marines, and a detachment of artillery and sappers, the whole under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Craigie, the rest of the force was embarked principally on board the Nemesis and Phlegethon, on the following morning, the 13th, and proceeded up the river, in company with the Queen and Sesostris steamers, together with the Modeste, Cruiser, Columbine, and Bentinck. The Blonde was left for the protection of Chinhae, as a support to the garrison.

In consequence of unavoidable delays, the force did not reach the city of Ningpo until past two, p. m.; but, fortunately, there was no difficulty in landing the troops with the utmost expedition. Across the river, just abreast of the town, there was a well-constructed bridge of boats, which served to connect the city, at the entrance of one of its gates, with the suburbs which were on the opposite side. There was quite water enough for the steamers to run close up to it; and, as the Chinese showed no intention of opposing the landing, the bridge was immediately taken possession of, while thousands of the inhabitants thronged the banks of the river, as mere spectators, moved by curiosity rather than by fear. Indeed, the Chinese themselves voluntarily assisted to remove the obstructions which were piled up behind the city gates; and about three o'clock the whole of the little force, amounting to no more than seven hundred and fifty bayonets, besides the artillery and sappers, were drawn up along the ramparts of the important and wealthy city of Ningpo; and the stirring sound of our national "God save the Queen" was played by the band of the 18th Royal Irish.

The utmost quiet was preserved, and the Chinese were made to understand that, deserted by their own authorities, and left without means of protecting themselves, they might be assured of protection through the generosity of British soldiers. Never indeed was there a more peaceable victory.

The capture of Chinhae and Ningpo, so soon after the loss of Chusan, seems to have inflicted so severe a blow

upon the Chinese, as to have alarmed the whole province, and spread consternation even as far as the capital itself. Reports were soon brought from every quarter that the inhabitants even of Hang-chow-foo, famed for its luxury and refinement throughout China, were moving away from it in large numbers, and that places nearer to the scene of action were already almost abandoned. In fact, it was admitted that a panic prevailed on every side; and it was feared that "treacherous natives would seize the opportunity to rob and plunder, and would form themselves into organized bands for the purpose of creating internal disorders." There was also great apprehension that our forces might proceed to capture Chapoo, one of their most valuable ports, having the exclusive right of trade with Japan, and situated in the vicinity of Hang-chow-foo.

It could not be doubted, therefore, that had the General possessed a sufficient force to have been able to leave a garrison at Ningpo, and *at once* to take possession of Chapoo, which is, in fact, the seaport of Hang-chow-foo, and only twenty miles distant from it, he might have marched to the provincial capital while the Chinese were unprepared to offer any serious opposition; and it is not improbable that the war might have been brought to a termination in that campaign. With the very small force, however, which Sir Hugh Gough had at his disposal, such a movement was manifestly impossible. The whole force which he could muster at Ningpo amounted to no more than seven hundred and fifty bayonets; and, as the city was not less than five

miles in circumference, containing a dense population, it evidently required a considerable garrison to occupy the place, and to afford security to the peaceable and well-disposed inhabitants. It was therefore resolved to make Ningpo the head-quarters for the winter, and to wait for reinforcements from England and from India before opening the next campaign.

At this time, the Emperor, though alarmed, seems not to have been at all dismayed by the disasters which his troops had met with. The defence of Hang-chow-foo was clearly a matter of great importance. Large bodies of troops were, therefore, ordered to be sent down, new generals were appointed, and it is said that even Keshen was liberated from confinement, and sent to superintend affairs. Movements of troops and the travelling of public officers are not very rapid in China, and his majesty therefore ordered that the local officers of the province should provide as well as they could for its defence, until the reinforcements could reach them, which would "require full two months' time."

Alarm already began to be felt for the safety even of Pekin; and, remembering the former visit of our ships to the river Peiho, and the conference at Tientsin, the Emperor was not without dread of a second visit of a more troublesome kind. Part of the troops, therefore, which were originally ordered to Hang-chow-foo, were directed to change their route, and proceed to co-operate for the defence of Tientsin, at which point also troops from other parts were now ordered to be concentrated.

The province of Chekeang, which was now the seat

of our operations, is intersected by large rivers, and is traversed by the great Imperial Canal, which, taking its commencement from the city of Hang-chow-foo, and passing through the most fertile and densely-populated provinces, crossing in its course the two great rivers, the Yangtze Keang and the Yellow River, runs northward nearly as far as the imperial capital, which is dependent upon it not only for its wealth, but even for its means of daily subsistence. A blow inflicted upon its immense traffic at one extremity must necessarily vibrate along its whole course, and be painfully felt at the other end; and the great internal trade of China, through all its endless ramifications, upon which perhaps the bulk of the population depend for their subsistence, must suffer a universal and dangerous derangement. What was of quite as much importance also, the imperial revenues would, in a great measure, cease to flow into the imperial treasury; and the "tug of war" could not last long without the sinews that give it strength.

The city of Ningpo, therefore, the largest in the province next to Hang-chow-foo, wealthy from its great trade, easily accessible by water, and formerly the site of an English factory, was admirably adapted for winter quarters. The troops were placed, in the first instance, in two large public buildings, and the greatest forbearance was exercised towards the persons and property of the inhabitants. Proclamations were likewise issued, calling upon the people to return to their ordinary avocations without fear of molestation; and some of the principal inhabitants were requested to assemble, in order

that it might be explained to them that it was the wish of our high officers to afford them all possible protection, and to restore order to the city; that the hostility of the English was to be directed against the government, and not against the people.

All this sounded well at first, and was received with great thankfulness by the Chinese, who seemed very well disposed to be taken under British protection. But the announcement which was afterwards made to them, that they were to pay a heavy sum as ransom for the city, and as an *equivalent* for the value of our "protection," was received with very great disfavour and reluctance. Very little of the sum demanded was ever forthcoming; and the substitution of a tax, or contribution, of ten per cent upon the estimated value of the property, was the cause of much subsequent ill-will, and some injustice. In fact, notwithstanding the promises and hopes which were held out, a very small portion of it was ever collected, and it was at all times a subject of much bitterness to the people.

A tax of ten per cent. upon the value of the cargoes of all vessels passing up the river, which was afterwards enforced, was much more successful; in fact, it was little else than the collection of the imperial revenues, which the Chinese were always liable to pay. It was, however, in a great degree evaded, by an increase of smuggling along the coast, which the disorganized state of the local government of the province greatly favoured.

Generally speaking, the collecting of any considerable body of troops together in any particular province or locality in China, so far from strengthening the hands of

the authorities, is more likely to occasion disturbance among the inhabitants. Their raw, ill-disciplined levies are under little restraint, and repeated complaints are always made against the lawlessness of the troops. Little confidence being placed in their regular soldiers, who had been so recently defeated, the people were now called upon by the authorities to collect their brave men from all the villages and hamlets along the coast, and to organize them into bands, for mutual "defence against the proud rebels;" but, in most instances, these bodies of uncontrolled patriots became a perfect scourge to their own neighbourhood, and perfectly useless for any purpose of defence against the enemy.

Ningpo is situated upon the extremity of a tongue of land at the point of junction of two rivers, or two branches of the same river, which unite just below the town, and form the Tahea, or Ningpo river. Both of these branches are extremely tortuous, and have numerous villages along their banks, which are in some parts picturesque and well cultivated. One of them leads up, in a north-easterly direction, to the district town of Yuyow, whence there is a canal, supposed to lead to Hang-chow-foo: the distance is about forty miles; and nearly half-way up this branch, situated about four miles from the river's bank, is the town of Tsekee. Both of these towns shortly became, as we shall see, the scene of our operations, our object being to disperse the Chinese forces, which were being collected at various points for a threatened attack upon us at Ningpo. The other, or south-western branch of the Ningpo river, leads up, at the distance of about thirty miles, to the town of

Fungwah, which we also designed to attack, if necessary.

At Ningpo itself, one of the most interesting objects is the bridge of boats, connecting the town with the suburbs. It is apparently well contrived to answer the purpose for which it is intended. The boats are all connected together by two chains running across, and resting upon them, extending from one side of the river to the other. This serves to keep the boats in their places, without their being moored, and a regular bridge of planks is carried from one to the other, but only destined for foot-passengers, as carts for draught are unknown.

BRIDGE OF BOATS AT NINGPO.

A few days after the place was taken, the Nemesis and Phlegethon proceeded up the north-western branch towards Yuyow, the Admiral and suite being on board the former, and Sir Henry Pottinger and suite on board the latter. They also took in tow the Wellesley's launch and pinnace, manned and armed. The object was sim-

ply to explore that branch of the river, and to ascertain whether any Chinese were being collected in that direction. Nothing could be more picturesque than the scenery the whole way up, the tortuous bendings of the river bringing a constant succession of new objects into view, relieved by fine mountain scenery in the rear. Numerous villages lay scattered upon its banks, but there was no appearance of any preparations for defence. The inhabitants generally, so far from running away with fear, crowded the banks with looks of the utmost astonishment. The scenery continued to increase in interest as they ascended, and particularly at a place called Poonpoo, where there was a cluster of extremely pretty country houses, or villas, said to belong to several of the high officers of government. On every side the country appeared to be in the highest state of cultivation.

About two-thirds of the way up, the river became considerably narrower, and the turnings were sometimes so sharp and sudden, that it was not without some difficulty the long, sharp Nemesis could be guided round them. At length, about five o'clock, they reached the city of Yuyow, and came to anchor close under its walls, in about three fathoms water.

The Admiral, accompanied by the numerous officers who had attended him, including Captains Maitland, Herbert, Blake, and others, now got into the boats from the Nemesis, as did also Sir Henry Pottinger and his suite from the Phlegethon, and proceeded up the river above the town, to reconnoitre. They passed under a well-constructed stone bridge of three arches, the centre one being about thirty feet high; but the

day was already far advanced, and the rain began to fall heavily. Nothing of a hostile character was observed in the neighbourhood, and they all very gladly returned without landing, but did not reach the steamers until they were completely drenched.

Sir William Parker did not escape suffering from the exposure he had undergone, and was laid up almost immediately afterwards with an attack of rheumatism; indeed, it was often a matter of surprise that he escaped with so little illness during his anxious and indefatigable services, in which he never spared himself on any occasion, or shrunk from any exposure.

On the following morning, Sir Henry Pottinger went up the river, and landed near a hill above the city, while Captain Herbert and another party ascended a hill a little below it, from which there was a most beautiful and commanding view of the surrounding country on all sides, as well as of the town. Upon this hill there was a large joss-house capable of defence. There was no appearance of hostility on the part of the people, nor was any large body of troops discovered. The same evening they all returned to Ningpo.

This first visit to Yuyow was one of reconnoissance and curiosity, and the city itself was not entered. On a subsequent occasion, however, in the following December, a hostile attack was made upon it, as will be described, in consequence of the assembling of a body of Chinese troops within its walls and in its neighbourhood.

In the city of Ningpo itself, things gradually began to settle down into their regular course; the Chinese

soon opened their shops, and were very glad to sell their wares at an exorbitant price. Provisions also were brought in plentifully, and there was every probability that the winter would be passed in tolerable tranquillity. Some of the principal people are said to have come forward and expressed their willingness to be taken *permanently* under British rule, under a guarantee of protection, but their professions were little relied on.

Some of the temples at Ningpo are very handsome, and one of them in particular is well worth seeing. They fortunately escaped the plundering of the Chinese thieves. Not so, however, the private houses, particularly in the suburbs, which were less under our control, and were almost as extensive as the town. In these, one whole street was discovered entirely at the mercy of the mob, who had carried off nearly every thing that could be moved, in almost every house. Several of these rogues were caught in the act, and were handed over to the tender mercies of the people themselves. Several of them also were well flogged, and others had their tails cut off, by the general's orders.

One of the buildings which attracted most interest was the town prison, in which Captain Anstruther and others of our unfortunate countrymen had been so long confined. The identical cages in which they had been shut up were found still there, and others of a similar kind, ready for the reception of any of the barbarians who might fall into their hands. The way in which Captain Anstruther managed to find out his old prison was rather curious. He had himself blindfolded, and then carefully numbered the steps he had formerly

taken, and the different turnings he had made; and by these means contrived, within a few yards, to hit the very spot.

A party arrived there in time to get possession of some Sycee silver which had not yet been removed from the offices; but it is supposed that much more had already been carried away by plunderers. A very large quantity of the base coin called *cash*, the *only* coined money of China, was found in another part of the town; and the enormous stores of grain, belonging to government, were also taken possession of, and afterwards sold to the people at a cheap rate. This produced a considerable addition to the prize-fund, but the policy of selling it at so low a rate was somewhat questioned. Every man was allowed to go into the stores, at which a strong guard was placed, and fill as large a sack as he could carry out of it for *one dollar*, its actual value being about *four*. But only a small portion of this was actually obtained by the *poor* people; for it was asserted, at least by the Chinese, that the *farmers themselves* managed to get a considerable share of it by means of their servants, so that they might be able to continue to keep up the price by a species of monopoly. It was also feared that, in case of a failure of the crops, a serious famine might happen to the people, owing to the want of the accustomed stores which are usually laid up by the government, in the paternal spirit of providing the poor with food at a moderate price, in the event of such a contingency. The sum added to the prize-fund by the sale of these stores of grain, of which there was said to be two years' supply, was considerable.

There were also large stores of sugar discovered in the town.

Amongst other unexpected prizes, not the least interesting was that of a stud of Chinese horses, or ponies, small, but hardy little things, used exclusively for saddle, and generally employed only by the higher mandarins. Upwards of forty of these ponies were selected, and trained for the artillery, and amusing enough it was to see the commencement of their apprenticeship. One of the great disadvantages the General laboured under, on many occasions, was the want of horses for his staff; the necessity of carrying his orders on foot not only caused delay, but rendered the duty very harassing, particularly during some of the hot, sultry days in the earlier part of this campaign.

The Chinese horses are extremely small, literally ponies, but strong, and of good bone and tolerable figure; but they are not numerous, being considered rather as a valuable indication of rank or wealth than as the common slave of man, either for labour or amusement. The Chinese take no pains to improve the breed, and very little care of them, as to their food, grooming, &c. In reality, a Chinaman is the most awkward-looking horseman imaginable, and the walk or the jog-trot is the only pace that either his inclination, *his dignity*, or the slippery nature of his causeways, permit him to adopt. Population in China is so dense, and consequently labour so abundant, that they stand in very little need of the help of the lower animals to assist the hand of man, and rather grudge the food which is necessary for their maintenance.

The best way to obtain a good view of Ningpo and the surrounding country is to ascend the pagoda, which forms one of its most striking objects. It is one hundred and fifty-five feet high, of an octagonal form, having windows all the way up, with a lantern in each; so that, if lighted up, the effect would be very striking. The lower part of it is built of stone, but the upper part of brick. In other respects it differs but little from other structures of the same description. It appears to be connected with a public burial-ground, as numerous graves and monuments lie scattered round it. From the top of it you get quite a panoramic view of the city and the river, with its two tributaries or branches, the mountains in the distance, and the fine, rich, alluvial, well-watered, and highly-cultivated plain which extends down towards the sea-coast.

The town itself differs little in appearance from that of Canton and most other towns in China, but it is considerably smaller than the former; it has the same narrow streets, crossed here and there by the heavy stone arches, or rather tablets, which are frequently erected to do honour to some great or popular man, the same curious, long, ornamented sign-boards, on each side of the shops, and the same crowded clusters of houses, of curious shape, and mostly of one story.

Many of the houses of the better class of people, not deserted entirely by their owners, were visited by our officers, who generally met with a very courteous reception. Indeed, the Chinese well know how to make a virtue of necessity, and to conciliate your good graces by the offer of tea, cakes, tobacco, or flowers, rather

than run the chance of exciting your ill-will, or your less friendly visits, by an affectation of independence or rude indifference. The Chinese of the respectable classes are capable of being extremely courteous, are well-bred, and even elegant in their manners; and the proper mode of treating them is to insist on this kind of demeanour as if it were due to you, and to accept it as your *right*. But there are no people who *can be* more rude, overbearing, and uncourteous than the Chinese, when they choose to be so, or rather when they think that they can withhold from you with impunity, or without notice, the courtesies which are habitual among themselves. The true method of gaining civility and attention from them is to treat them with courteous civility, and a certain degree of ceremonious distance, yet mixed with kindness, never omitting to take notice of the slightest want of courtesy on their part. On the other hand, if you treat them with familiarity in the first instance, or permit them to forego for an instant any of the little marks of attention or etiquette to which you are entitled, you are sure to lose their respect, without gaining their affection. Chinese good-breeding is a sensitive quality, and they often delight to try how far they can carry any omission of etiquette, in order to ascertain by your bearing whether you are entitled to receive it.

Considering how much the property of the inhabitants of Ningpo was at our mercy, it is creditable that so little injury was done to it during the many months in which the city was in our possession. But it is also deserving of remark that, during the whole period of the

war with the Chinese, no considerable collection of Chinese curiosities or works of art, many of which are extremely interesting and novel to us, was made for public purposes. With the exception of a few specimens of Chinese weapons and clothing, which were sent to different public institutions by private individuals, no attempt was made to form a sort of Chinese Museum. Had the French possessed the same advantages, probably a valuable collection would have been sent to Paris.

It is also to be regretted that some one or more scientific gentlemen were not attached to the expedition, who, with the assistance of an interpreter, might have made us acquainted with many interesting subjects of natural history, and of the productions of the country. Where, for instance, is the immense quantity of Sycee silver, which is *annually* exported from China, obtained? Where are their copper-mines, and how are they worked? Coal-mines also exist in several parts of China; at Ningpo coal was sold in small quantities, and at Nankin immense supplies of excellent coal were found laid up for the coming winter, and our steamers found it answer very well. The mineral productions of China, of which there are probably many, are almost entirely unknown to us.

The taste for European manufactures had reached Ningpo long before we got possession of it. There were one or two shops for the sale of what were called Canton wares, that is, English goods brought up from Canton, and, of course, sold enormously dear. In one of them was a quantity of English glass of various

kinds. English gilt buttons were found, and were in demand for the dresses of the higher classes, particularly of the women, who seemed to prefer those which had the East India Company's crest, the Lion, upon them. A large quantity of cloth was also found imported from Russia, and called Russian cloth; but, in reality, there is little doubt that the cloth was manufactured in *England*, for *Russian merchants*, expressly for their overland trade with China. It is a known fact, that orders of this description, for cloth made expressly of a particular kind, have long been executed in England. This, then, ought *now* to become a direct trade in our own hands.

The Chinese appear to excel in the art of wood-carving, some very fine specimens of which were found in their houses. One house in particular at Ningpo was distinguished by the tasteful carving of its furniture, particularly of that which belonged to the bedrooms. Some of their wardrobes and bedsteads were elegantly ornamented with carved work, inlaid with various kinds of wood, and representing landscapes, figures, &c. Some of their specimens of fretwork, with silk at the back, and of embroidered silk furniture, were extremely elegant. Above all things, they excel in the art of *varnishing* plain or carved wood, and they have also some method of giving a fine gloss to painted work, which very much increases its durability, although it is different from varnish.

One of their greatest deficiencies appears to be in the mode of lighting their houses. Glass is so little used, and the manufacture of it so imperfectly known among them, that almost the only mode which they adopt of

letting in the light, and of excluding the air at the same time, is by lattice-work windows, sometimes neatly carved, and lined inside with very thin transparent paper. Occasionally, however, a single pane of glass is found in the centre of the window, while in other instances the whole of it is covered with the thin transparent lining of oyster-shells, which admit a very dubious light. The artificial lighting of the best houses is often very well effected by coloured lamps, several of which are suspended from the ceiling, and painted with various designs, landscapes, &c. But the painting is *on* the glass, not *in* the glass; the latter art appears to be quite unknown to the Chinese.

Generally speaking, it was not safe to wander far from the gates of the town, except when a large party went together upon a shooting excursion. Pheasants, and a sort of pigeon, with woodcocks and teal, were generally found without difficulty, but the Chinese seemed mightily astonished that any one should take the trouble to *walk* over the country, mile after mile, merely for the trouble of shooting birds. It is curious that, expert and indefatigable as they are in catching fish, they should be so indifferent to the art of catching or killing birds, which are to be found in almost every part of the country in great abundance. But they seem to be deterred by the trouble of seeking for them, and have very little knowledge of the relative value of the different species as articles of diet. The lower class of people will gladly devour any kind of bird you shoot for them. I have seen them glad to get birds of prey even, and yet they take no pains to secure the thou-

sands of wild-fowl which are to be found upon the banks of the same rivers in which they catch their fish.

That it was not safe to go out alone, even well armed, soon became evident, for they made more than one attempt to carry off a sentry on duty, and would have succeeded in their object, had not the guard instantly come up on the alarm being given. On these occasions, as may be supposed, a Chinaman or two stood a chance of being shot. But the boldest of them all were the professed thieves, who continued to commit depredations upon their countrymen in the most barefaced manner, in spite of the severe examples which were sometimes made.

On one occasion, when a small foraging party was out looking for poultry and bullocks, some Chinamen pointed out a spot where they said a quantity of Sycee silver had been concealed. This was too great a temptation for the soldiers to resist, but the moment they had loaded themselves with the silver the Chinese surrounded them, and they were obliged to let fall the Sycee in order to defend themselves, and then beat a retreat. A quarrel then arose of course among the Chinese, about the division of the spoil, of which *they* had not robbed their countrymen, but had only captured it from the barbarians.

So many attempts were made to entrap our soldiers and sailors, and to carry them off, both at Ningpo and Chinhae, that great caution was necessary, and, in spite of the many warnings, some of their attempts were successful. They had less inclination to molest the officers; not that they loved them better, or desired

them less as prisoners, but that they had greater respect for the double-barrelled pistols which many of the officers carried in their pockets, and which *all* were supposed to be provided with.

An attempt was made more than once by the Chinese to rob our commissariat stores, but it was frustrated by our vigilance. But the Chinese are uncommonly expert housebreakers, as many people in Hong Kong can testify, where houses and stores of the most substantial kind were broken into in a very ingenious manner, generally by removing some of the stones or bricks near the foundation.

The attempt to establish a Chinese police at Ningpo, and also at Chusan, was tolerably successful; at least it was not difficult to find men who were willing enough to *receive the pay*, and wear the badge of a policeman; but it is not quite so certain that they were equally ready to detect thieves, or to protect the property of individuals. Sometimes, by way of appearing to do something, they gave false information, which served to create a stir for the moment. Upon the whole, they were certainly of some use; but the want of knowledge of the language, and the small number of interpreters, since Mr. Gutzlaff had almost the sole management of them, rendered their services less available than could have been wished. They were occasionally useful as spies, and obtained information of reports among their countrymen, concerning the plans and intentions of the mandarins.

But, besides these, we had also regular spies in our pay, one of whom, a Chinese who spoke English, and

came to be known by the name of Blundell, was sent up to Hang-chow-foo, but was afraid to deliver the paper which was entrusted to him, and returned without having accomplished his object. He was supposed to be employed as a spy by both parties, the Chinese as well as ourselves.

Generally, pretty correct information was obtained of the proposed movements of the Chinese, the assembling of their troops, and the orders of the imperial cabinet. It is curious that an edict was found, which alluded to the affair of the Nemesis in the harbour of Sheipoo, and the destruction of the forts and junks. It was also said that a letter had been intercepted, from Yang Fang, one of the imperial commissioners at Canton, to one of the Tartar generals in Chekeang, apprising him that he had received from Manilla one hundred and fifty shells, with some guns, and a supply of muskets. Whether this was true, it is impossible to ascertain, but there was no doubt that they received arms of various kinds from some place or other. They offered to the captain of an American merchant ship at Chusan six hundred dollars for his two iron guns, and twelve dollars for each of his twelve muskets and bayonets, but he refused to part with them. This information I had from the captain himself.

At Ningpo, however, and in its neighbourhood, there were no indications of hostile preparations for some time after the place was in our possession. It was not until quite the end of November, that reports, upon which reliance could be placed, reached the General, that troops were collecting in some of the neighbouring

towns, particularly at Yuyow, the town which had already been visited, and rumours were afloat of some projected attack, on the part of the Chinese, upon Ningpo itself. Little uneasiness, however, was felt on this head; but plans now began to be laid for dispersing these different bodies of troops, and for the purpose of instilling a wholesome terror into the minds of the people, lest they as well as the authorities should become emboldened by our apparent supineness. There did not, however, appear to be any immediate necessity for active measures, which did not take place until two or three weeks afterwards.

In the mean time, the Nemesis was sent over to Chusan, stopping a day or two at Chinhae on the way, to procure fuel, and to overhaul a number of large junks which were at anchor a few miles from the mouth of the river. They were found to be laden principally with peas, rice, oil, walnuts, liquorice-root, &c., and, had they been met with a few months later, they would all have been detained, as were hundreds of a similar kind at Woosung; but at this time they were not molested. *Opium was found in them all*, in small quantities only, for the use of the people on board, but apparently not for sale.

Some improvement was already noticed in the appearance of Chinhae, although it had not yet been two months in our possession; the market was well supplied, and the 55th regiment seemed to be much better provided with quarters than the troops stationed at Ningpo. The weather was now clear and bracing, and the sickness which had partially attacked our troops,

on first taking possession of the town, had almost entirely disappeared.

This was a good opportunity for paying a visit to the site of the engagement with the Chinese on the opposite side of the river, on the day of the capture of Chinhae. The positions held by the Chinese appeared remarkably strong, and, had they been skilfully defended, would not have been taken without great loss of life on our side.

On the occasion of this visit, two Chinamen were seen at some little distance, hastening along with a large round basket carried between them, carefully covered up, but which at first attracted little notice. Some of the party had the curiosity to raise up the covering a little, when, to their great surprise and amusement, a very young and pretty-looking Chinese lady was found stowed in it, hoping probably by this device to escape detection. The poor thing was almost frightened to death; but she remained perfectly quiet until she was covered up again, when the men were allowed to trot away with her as fast as they could.

Shortly afterwards a gay-looking sedan chair was seen passing near a village, probably belonging to some of the mandarins, but no sooner did the party run up to examine it, than its occupier jumped out and ran away for his life.

But the best thing of this kind was finding a Chinese lady stowed away in the locker of a boat, as if she were dead. Orders had been issued by the Admiral to examine all junks leaving the city, in order to prevent them from carrying away plunder. One of these

had just been examined, without finding any thing of value on board, when it occurred that something might still be concealed in the after-locker, a sort of cupboard of moderate size. On opening this sanctum, it appeared to contain what looked like the dead body of a female, recently put into it, well dressed, and, judging from her handsome shoes and small feet, a person of some importance. This looked a very strange affair, but as no one could speak a word of the language, it was impossible to inquire into it. However, as it appeared to be a capital opportunity to examine the nature of a Chinese lady's foot, the men were ordered to lift the body out; and this appeared likely to be no easy matter, so closely did it seem to be jammed in. But the moment the Jacks laid hold of the shoulders, a tremendous scream issued forth, as if a ghost had suddenly been endowed with some unearthly voice, and tried to frighten them out of all propriety. The poor thing had only shammed being dead, in order, as she thought, to escape detection. She was now very gently lifted out, and not without some difficulty, being literally *half dead* with the fright and confinement. In the bottom of the locker beneath her was found a bag of money, with which she had evidently attempted to escape. She was of course allowed to go away without further molestation, boat and all. But this little event afforded infinite amusement afterwards, when told with a little pardonable embellishment.

The question of infanticide has been already alluded to in a previous chapter. According to Barrow, it was considered part of the duty of the police at Pekin to

collect every morning, in a cart sent round for the purpose, the dead bodies of infants which were thrown into the streets during the night. Sometimes they were found still alive, and these were commonly rescued by the Roman Catholic Missionaries, who attended for the purpose, and subsequently brought them up in the Roman Catholic faith. Mr. Gutzlaff also alludes to this horrible practice, as being far from uncommon, and as being perpetrated without any feelings of remorse, but almost exclusively upon females. Among the immense population which live in boats, and upon the rivers of China, it is impossible to calculate how many are disposed of by being drowned. But, in Pekin, Barrow gives the average number destroyed at twenty-four every day. Some allowance must, however, be made for those which *die of disease* during the earliest period of life, in a country where medical science is at so low an ebb.

With the exception of some of the Tartar towns, such as Chapoo and Chinkeang-foo, where wholesale murder was committed by the men upon their wives and children immediately the places were captured, little evidence was obtained of the existence of the revolting practice of infanticide. We have seen that at Amoy the bodies of several infants were found sewed up in sacks; and it was also said that a cave was found at Chinhae, in which were a number of bodies of female infants, also tied up in bags. But it was an extremely rare thing to find an infant abandoned in the streets, alive or dead. An instance, however, occurred at Ningpo, one evening, when a party from the Ne-

mesis were returning towards their boats. They were just passing a joss-house, or temple, when something attracted attention, lying upon the steps leading to the entrance. On examination, it proved to be a female infant (always females) recently abandoned, and, though extremely cold, still living. The little thing was carried down to the boat, by a marine, who was the orderly. Every attempt was made, as soon as it was brought on board, to revive it. The doctor tried his skill, and on receiving a little warm goat's milk, and being placed in a warm bath, it began to move, and show symptoms of reanimation. All the care that could be taken of it, however, was ineffectual; and it died on the following day, and was taken ashore and buried close to a Chinese tomb.

Infanticide undoubtedly does exist in China, but it is to be hoped that the statements of its prevalence have been exaggerated, and that it is confined to the lowest classes, among whom the means of subsistence press very heavily, and that they are driven to it by extreme poverty rather than indifference. The Chinese are generally remarkably fond of their children. A Chinaman's three great wishes and most cherished hopes are, length of days, plenty of *male* offspring, and literary honours. To be the patriarch of a long line of descendants is generally the aim of his proudest ambition.

After a delay of two or three days at Chinhae, the Nemesis was sent over to Chusan, at the end of November, whither the Admiral and Sir Henry Pottinger had already preceded her. Great changes and improvements were found to have taken place, even in this

short space of time. The shops were now all open, and the streets filled with people, who were pursuing their ordinary avocations without any appearance of alarm, or fear of interruption. In fact, they were settling down very quietly under our rule; much more so than on the former occasion when the town was in our occupation.

On the 1st of December, Sir Henry Pottinger and the Admiral, attended by several other officers, took their departure from Chusan, on board the Nemesis, and crossed over once more to Chinhae; and the same evening the Nemesis anchored off the walls of Ningpo. There was at this time no appearance of immediate active operations, and, indeed, Sir Henry Pottinger talked of going down to spend the remainder of the winter at Hong Kong.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Expedition to Yuyow — Capture of the City — Treachery — Close of 1841—Alarm spreads to Hang-chow-foo—People quitting the City—Expedition of boats of the Nemesis towards Fungwah — Character of the country described — The Cornwallis at Chusan — Reinforcements begin to arrive—Expedition to the island of Tai-shan—The Nemesis—Gallant affair — Rumours of a combined attack by the Chinese — Ningpo in danger — A surprise — Night attack — Gallant defence of the City—Repulse of the Chinese—Pursuit and slaughter—Chinese attack Chinhae—All their plans are frustrated.

The eventful year of 1841 was now drawing fast to a close. The troops at Ningpo had been moved into more convenient quarters for the winter, the close of which was anxiously looked for, in the hope that sufficient reinforcements would arrive to be able to commence the next campaign with vigour. The weather set in intensely cold in the middle of December. On the 14th of that month, the hills were all covered with snow, which soon began to fall heavily in the town as well, and proved that, although the summers are very warm in China, the winters are intensely cold and trying. The health of the troops continued good, supplies were tolerably abundant, and the officers managed to beguile the time by shooting-parties in the neighbour-

hood, where plenty of game, woodcocks, snipes, pheasants, &c., were to be found.

For some time, as was before stated, reports had been brought in, of the assembling of large bodies of Chinese troops in some of the neighbouring towns, with the object, it was supposed, of preventing the people from holding friendly communications with us, and perhaps also to threaten us with an attempt to recover the city. The continuance of frosty weather, which rendered their soft paddy-fields firm and fit for operations, determined the General to make a military expedition as far as Yuyow, in order to ascertain how far these reports were correct, and to dislodge the Chinese troops, if any of them should be found collected there.

On the 27th of December the three steamers, Nemesis, Sesostris, and Phlegethon, having a number of boats in tow, and carrying altogether about seven hundred men, including the marines and seamen, proceeded up the north-western branch of the river. The Nemesis conveyed Sir Hugh Gough, Sir William Parker, and a detachment of the 18th Royal Irish, together with a small detachment of artillery. The Sesostris, owing to her greater draught of water, was compelled to bring up below the intended point of debarkation. A few miles below the town a party of Chinese soldiers were dispersed, who had evidently been employed to stake the river across, which they had already commenced.

In the evening the Nemesis and Phlegethon anchored close off the town of Yuyow, when crowds of Chinese

were observed running down to their boats, and trying to make their escape up the river. The troops were disembarked without delay, and took possession of a small undefended battery of four guns, recently erected, and then marched up the hill overlooking the city, without opposition, and took up their quarters for the night in the joss-house, or temple, upon the top of it, from which a good view of the country had been obtained on a former occasion.

The city was said to be occupied by upwards of a thousand troops, and preparations were made for escalading the walls on the following morning, when the seamen and marines were landed with that object, under the Admiral in person. The morning was bitterly cold, and the fields were all covered with snow, so that the capture of the town was looked forward to as a very agreeable relief.

Just at the critical moment some of the respectable inhabitants came out, and stated that the garrison had withdrawn during the night, and that the gates were open for us. It was little expected that treachery was intended, and the troops, with the marines and seamen, entered the town in two divisions; and, having got upon the ramparts, they followed them in opposite directions, in order to go round the town and meet at the opposite side. At the same time, the Nemesis weighed and moved a little higher up the river; and from the mast-head it was distinctly seen that a body of Chinese troops were drawn up outside the town, close to a bridge leading over a canal. The boats were, therefore, sent further up the river, manned and armed,

in case the Chinese should attempt to escape in that direction.

Just at this time the Chinese opened a fire of ginjals and matchlocks upon the naval division, as they were advancing along the wall of the town; but our troops, after some little delay, having found their way out of the town by the northern gate, closely pursued the enemy, who had already taken flight. The Nemesis, and subsequently the Phlegethon, opened fire on them the moment they were perceived.

The pursuit was a toilsome one, owing to the peculiar character of the frozen paddy-fields, covered with snow, which the Chinese could scramble over faster than our own men; but some of the Chinese were killed, and some were taken prisoners. Most of them threw off their thick wadded jackets, and flung away their arms, and, having a good knowledge of the country, and of the direction of the causeways, which were completely covered with snow, were able to make good their escape. The pursuit was discontinued, after following them seven or eight miles; but a military station, which was passed in the way, was set fire to and destroyed.

In the mean time, the boats of the Nemesis, having pushed on some way up the river, had overtaken two mandarin boats, which were trying to escape. A quantity of official papers were found in them, together with some Sycee silver, which was handed over to the prize-agents; some valuable fur-cloaks were also taken, and the boats were then burned, the people belonging to them being first sent ashore. Several farmhouses on

shore were then searched for troops, but none were found. At some distance, however, some men were seen carrying a handsome mandarin chair in great haste across the country. Chase was given, and it was soon overtaken; but, instead of a mandarin, it was found to contain a very good-looking young *mandarin's lady*, with an infant in her arms, and a quantity of trinket-boxes. The poor thing was much frightened, but was allowed to be carried on without molestation. On returning to the boats, they were pushed up further, in the direction in which our troops had followed the enemy. The Admiral and Captain Bourchier came back in the boats, but the General preferred returning on foot all the way.

At Yuyow an extensive depôt was discovered outside the town, containing ammunition, arms, and clothing, and was totally destroyed. Four guns, which were discovered concealed near the landing-place, were embarked on board the steamer. It was now evident that the reports which had been brought to us concerning the preparations of the Chinese were perfectly correct.

In the town itself there was nothing particularly worthy of attention; and on the 30th our force was re-embarked, and the steamers returned down the river, and came to anchor for the night, as near as they could to the town of Tszekee, which lies, as before stated, about four miles from its banks. On marching up to it the following day, it was found unoccupied; and even the authorities of the town, alarmed by the intelligence from Yuyow, had fled from the place. The

inhabitants appeared peaceably inclined; and, in order the better to conciliate them, and to show that our measures were solely directed against their government, the large public stores of rice were distributed to the poor people of the place. The same evening our force returned to Ningpo, having, during these five days, succeeded in spreading the alarm throughout all the adjacent country, and in destroying all the reliance of the people in the power of their own troops to protect them.

The year 1841 had now closed, and it had been the most eventful one since the commencement of our difficulties with the Chinese. Our measures had assumed a new character of vigour; while treaties had been made and unmade by the Chinese with almost equal facility. But deep and lasting humiliation had been inflicted upon them; the honour of the English flag had been vindicated, and the strength of her arms had been tried, and proved to be irresistible to the Chinese.

It was soon discovered that the effect of our descent upon Yuyow, and our visit to Tszekee, had been to spread the utmost consternation through all the district, and to alarm even the high officers at the provincial capital, Hang-chow-foo. The Imperial Commissioner and many of the wealthy inhabitants now fled out of that city, and sought refuge in Soochow-foo, nearly one hundred miles further to the northward. In fact, there was a general dread of our immediate advance upon the former city; and there is little doubt that the General would have gladly undertaken the expedition, had he possessed sufficient force to do so without giving up Ningpo.

Some encouragement was given to this flattering expectation, by the fact of the Phlegethon steamer and the Bentinck surveying vessel being sent, early in January, to examine the great bay of Hang-chow-foo, and the port of Chapoo, which, as it were, commands the approach to the city, and is the centre of its commerce. This hoped-for movement in advance, however, never took place. But, with a view to keep up in the minds of the Chinese the impression which had been produced by our movement upon Yuyow by the north-western branch of the river, a similar attack was projected upon Fungwah, which lies nearly at the same distance up the south-western branch. No authorised expedition had yet been made to explore this branch; but, on two occasions, Captain Hall and some of his officers and men had proceeded a considerable way up, partly moved by curiosity, and partly with a view to examine the river. On one occasion, they must have nearly reached the city of Fungwah itself.

In both these excursions the Chinese seemed very much astonished and alarmed at the boldness of the attempt. The first excursion was merely a walking and shooting-party, but enough was seen of the country to distinguish it as a rich, well-cultivated, and picturesque tract. The small cotton-plant was cultivated in great abundance, and the women (at least the elder ones) sat quietly at their doors, busy at the spinning-wheel, without appearing to be much alarmed. Several canals were observed close to the river side, but not flowing into or communicating directly with it. They were separated from it by rather a steep *inclined plane*,

made of stone-work, intended as a substitute for locks, with strong windlasses for the purpose of hauling the boats up on one side, and letting them down on the other; certainly an original and curious contrivance.

A halt was made for refreshment in a temple not far from the river, about six miles from Ningpo. The priest was very officious in his attentions; and, although there was a dense crowd of people curiously pressing forward to catch their first glimpse of the foreigners, there was no attempt at rudeness or violence, and they were easily kept at bay by a single sentry at the door.

The second excursion was much more extensive, and was made in one of the steamer's cutters up the river. On passing through the first village, four shots were heard, but it was difficult to say whether they were fired at the boat, as the shots were not seen to fall. The river was found to be remarkably tortuous, so as to appear sometimes, when viewed from a distance, as if it ran in contrary directions. Numerous pretty-looking villages were passed without any appearance of hostility; and, at the distance of about eighteen miles, the river was found to divide into two branches, one of which continued in a westerly direction, and the other ran about south-east. Following the latter a short distance farther, a well-built stone bridge was discovered, with five arches, the centre one about twenty feet above the water, which was here from five to six fathoms deep; the span of the principal arch was thirty-five feet, and upon the top of the bridge was a sort of sentry-box, or small look-out place, secured with a padlock.

Near at hand, upon the left bank of the river, was a

very pretty village, in which there was one large house, distinguished from the others by having Chinese characters carved upon it, the meaning of which of course could not be ascertained. About a quarter of a mile above the bridge, the banks of the river were studded with well-built houses, surrounded by groves of trees, among which the tallow-tree was the most striking, by the peculiar reddish tint of its foliage at that time of year. The course of the river was now about south-east, and it was still nearly one hundred yards broad, with three fathoms water.

Three miles above the first bridge a second one was discovered, and the river now turned due south. A little beyond this point the party landed, as it was now getting late, and ascended a hill upon the left bank of the river, from which there was a beautiful view of the surrounding country and the hills in the distance. A high pagoda could be distinguished some way off to the westward, and a round, white watch-tower, or look-out house, upon a hill to the eastward, covered with fir-trees, about a mile distant. At first the villagers seemed terribly frightened, but, soon perceiving that no mischief was intended, they approached with the most eager curiosity, anxious to examine every thing, particularly the boat and the men's clothes. Their manner was respectful and orderly, which is generally the case with the Chinese, if properly treated.

It was now time to descend the river, although the flood-tide was still making. On approaching the principal stone bridge, it was found crowded with people, so that it was necessary to arrange some plan of defence,

in case their purpose should prove to be one of hostility rather than of curiosity. If necessary, it was resolved that all the party should hastily land at the extremity of the bridge, except two men, who were as quickly as possible to push the boat through the nearest arch, and then pull it across to the opposite side; while those who had landed were to force their way across the bridge, and re-embark in the confusion on the opposite side. On coming up to the bridge, however, no opposition was offered, and indeed it was noticed that there were a number of women among the lookers-on, and that many others were hobbling out of their houses, led by irresistible curiosity to get a first look at the strangers, of whom they had probably already heard so much. Abundance of wild fowl were seen along the banks of the river, several of which were shot; and, late in the evening, the party again reached their vessel at Ningpo, well rewarded for the day's excursion. The small walled town of Fungwah is situated less than thirty miles up this same branch of the river.

On the 10th of January, the General started from Ningpo, with the object of making a descent upon Fungwah, in the expectation that some military stores, and probably a small body of Chinese soldiers, would be discovered. The Nemesis and Phlegethon were both employed on this service; the former vessel carrying detachments of the 49th, 18th, and 55th regiments, with artillery, sappers and miners, and followers, and having also on board Sir Hugh Gough and Sir William Parker, with their suites. Several boats were also taken in tow. As the steamers could not pass beyond the first bridge, the

troops were all landed at that point, with Sir Hugh Gough at their head, intending to march direct upon Fungwah, while the Admiral continued to advance up the river, with the boats carrying the seamen and marines. No opposition was met with, and both divisions arrived simultaneously at the city walls. It was found that the Chinese soldiers had abandoned the place, and the authorities had also fled. The inhabitants and the neighbouring peasantry all seemed peaceably inclined, though apparently overcome with astonishment and curiosity. The prospect from the hills at the back of Fungwah was very striking, and abundance of rice and other grain crops appeared to be cultivated.

On the following morning, nothing remained to be done but to destroy the government buildings, and to distribute the contents of the public granaries to the people, as had been the case in other places. In the afternoon, the whole force rejoined the steamers, and next day returned to Ningpo.

The effect of these various movements must be viewed, not as involving matters of military skill or courage, but as calculated to have the most salutary effect upon the people and upon the government, not only by the alarm which they created, but by the good feeling and forbearance which was uniformly shown towards the inhabitants, when in our power, and *abandoned* by their own authorities.

The result of the examination, by the Phlegethon and the Bentinck, of the character of Hang-chow-foo Bay, appears at this time to have rather discouraged the idea of advancing upon the capital by the river which leads

up to it. The tides were found to be so strong at the mouth of the river, that it was impossible to attempt to push even a steamer up, with any degree of safety. The Phlegethon made the attempt to enter the river's mouth, but became perfectly unmanageable, and was very nearly carried upon a sandbank, where she would probably have been lost. She was, however, got out of danger with some difficulty when the tide slackened, which it does very suddenly in that part. But no power of steam and sails combined was sufficient to stem the current, which seemed to hold the vessel completely at its mercy for some minutes.

A reconnoissance of the position of Chapoo, however, sufficed to show that it was accessible to our ships, and could be reduced without much difficulty; in which case, the road to Hang-chow-foo, by the hills, would be open to us, with a good causeway the whole distance of about fifty miles to the capital.

We may judge of the size and volume of water in most of the Chinese rivers, by the fact, that, even at Hang-chow-foo, the river is not less than four miles broad, opposite the city, at *high water;* while the rapidity of the current may be judged of by the fact of its diminishing to about two miles in breadth, at *low water;* leaving a fine level strand as far down as the eye can reach towards the sea. This was noticed during the short visit paid to it by Lord Macartney's embassy.

Rumours now continued to be brought, of the arrival of reinforcements at Hang-chow-foo and other parts of the province; and, before the end of February, Sir Hugh Gough also received reinforcements, by the ar-

rival of part of the 26th regiment, in the Jupiter troop-ship. The Cornwallis arrived at Chusan in January, for the flag of Sir William Parker, having succeeded in beating up the whole way from Hong Kong, against the north-east monsoon, contrary to the anticipations of many, who doubted whether so heavy a ship would be able to accomplish it. The movement upon Hang-chow-foo, however, if at any time seriously thought of, seems now to have been quite abandoned; and, as we shall presently see, Chapoo was destined to be the grand point of attack for opening the next campaign.

Much was said about dictating terms at Pekin, by a proposed movement on Tientsin, by the Peiho river, but, as this was never put into execution, we may fairly presume that the project was not seriously entertained by Sir Henry Pottinger and the military and naval commanders-in-chief. It was altogether another question, as to what steps might ultimately have to be taken, should we *fail* in exacting adequate terms from the Chinese, by a movement upon Nankin. That question will be considered in its proper place. But it was generally understood that some treaty of peace or other was to be imposed upon the Emperor, before the close of the present year, and therefore we may presume that it was resolved to act with vigour, as well as judgment, when once the operations should begin. To effect this object, however, considerable reinforcements would be requisite, and these were certainly expected very shortly to arrive.

In January, Sir Henry Pottinger and Sir William Parker went over to spend some time at Chusan, in the

Nemesis, which vessel now required considerable repairs, and was ordered to undergo a thorough refit. It is astonishing how easily an iron vessel can be repaired. At Amoy, a large hole had been knocked in her bottom; and from being so continually employed in exploring rivers, running along coasts, and landing troops, it is not surprising that some repair was required; but it is worthy of remark that she had been able to do her duty so long and so well without it. She was now hauled on shore upon a sandy beach, at Chusan: a new plate of iron was riveted into her bottom, and a number of Chinese carpenters were put in requisition, to assist in repairing the boats and other matters; and they generally proved themselves, when properly directed, very expert and industrious workmen. At the end of February, the Nemesis was again fit for active service, and then conveyed the 26th regiment over to Chinhae, and thence up to Ningpo.

On the 3rd of March the Admiral and General left Ningpo (Sir Henry Pottinger having in the mean time gone down to Hong Kong), and paid another visit to Chusan in the Nemesis. The Cornwallis was henceforth the flag-ship.

In the evening of the 5th of March, the arrival of the Clio, Captain Troubridge, was announced (fourteen days only from Hong Kong), bringing the mails, and the joyful news of the promotions in the service, consequent upon the taking of Canton, and the exploits in the Canton River.

Reports were at this time brought in, concerning a grand attack by the Chinese, intended to be made simul-

taneously upon Ningpo, Chinhae, and Chusan; but they were little heeded, owing to their being so constantly deferred, without any particular object. Amongst others, it was said that a considerable body of troops were being assembled on an island a little to the northward of Chusan, called Tai-shan, with the object of making a descent upon Chusan itself.

On the 7th of March the Nemesis was sent to reconnoitre that island, having Captain Collinson also on board, for the purpose of making surveying observations during the trip. They passed round the western and northern sides of Chusan, and having reached Tai-shan, which is about six or seven miles distant from it, they steamed all round that island, looking into the different bays, and spying into the villages, to see if they could discover a camp, or any signs of the presence of any troops. The navigation round the island is dangerous, for there are several rocks, at different points, barely covered with water.

At length they anchored off a small town in a bay on the south-eastern side of the island, where several junks were seen at anchor. To the north-east of the town stood a remarkable hill, from which it was expected that a view of the whole island could be obtained. Here the officers landed, with Captain Collinson's boat's crew, and part of that of the steamer, together with eight artillery men. There was no appearance of hostility, and they all marched on to a second village, in which, as well as in the first one, it was asserted by the people that there were no soldiers left in the island, as they had all gone away to another island in the neighbourhood. The

party then returned on board, and the steamer moved up towards a creek, at which the water was too shallow for her to enter.

In the evening Captain Collinson again landed in his gig, with a view to ascend to the top of the hill; and so confident was he that there were no armed men upon the island, that he declined taking an escort with him, and was with some difficulty persuaded to allow two armed artillerymen to follow him, and was himself quite unarmed. Lieutenant Bates accompanied him. Scarcely had they reached the top of the hill, and were beginning to take their observations, when a large body of armed Chinese were observed, emerging from their hiding places in the creek in which they had landed, which was at a point about two and a half miles from the steamer. Evidently their intention was to cut off their retreat, and make them prisoners. Flight was therefore the only resource, and had it not been for the assistance of the two artillerymen, they would have stood little chance of effecting their retreat to the boat. These two men, however, by coolly retreating alternately, the one firing, while the other reloaded as he withdrew towards the landing-place, managed to keep the Chinese in check, so that Captain Collinson reached the boat in safety.

It was now a question what steps were best to be taken on the following day; for there could be little doubt that if the steamer left the island without landing a body of men to attack the Chinese soldiers, who evidently were in force, a report would be sent to the Emperor of a great victory having been gained, in which the barbarians were, of course, driven into the sea, and their

vessels sent away from the coast. It was therefore resolved to *make an impression* upon them; and accordingly at five o'clock in the morning, the four boats of the steamer, manned and armed, under Captain Collinson and Captain Hall, with Lieutenant Bates, Mr. Freeze, and other officers of the ship, pushed off from the vessel, and proceeded up the creek. They had also eight artillerymen with them; and the two engineers likewise volunteered their services. The party numbered altogether sixty-six, including officers.

About two miles and a half up the creek they discovered a number of transport junks, crowded with Chinese soldiers, with their banners flying. A little distance from the banks of the creek, which gradually sloped up towards some detached houses above, were posted another body of the enemy; altogether there were probably five or six hundred men.

Gradually, as the boats advanced, the soldiers who had not before landed joined the other body on shore, and commenced a distant fire of ginjals and matchlocks, without doing any mischief. It was, however, returned by the boats as they neared them, and their crews were just about to land, when a thick smoke was observed to issue from one of the nearest troop-boats. It immediately occurred that this might arise from a train having been laid to blow up the boats if they should be taken possession of. It was therefore thought prudent to land a little lower down.

The moment the boats began to descend, the Chinese, thinking they were retreating, set up a loud shout, and advanced upon them, brandishing their spears in defi-

ance, thinking that the victory was already won. In this they were soon to be undeceived. Our men all landed as quickly as possible, and were formed into two columns; the right, or advanced one, led by Captain Hall himself, and the left by Mr. Freeze (mate R. N.), the chief officer of the Nemesis. Immediately they were ordered to advance, the Chinese began to waver at their bold front, and the first volley poured into them, within pistol shot, completely put them to flight. They were now so closely pursued, that their military chest was captured, in charge of a mandarin and two soldiers, who were killed. The prize was found to consist of only two thousand dollars, but even that was a pleasant addition to the prize fund. The Chinese were pursued for some distance, about fifty of them being left upon the field, and eight taken prisoners. The houses on the rising ground above, in which some of the soldiers had been quartered, and also several of the transport junks in the creek, were immediately set on fire.

After collecting some of the scattered arms as trophies of victory, the little party again returned to the steamer, the Chinese having been totally dispersed. She rejoined the Admiral, at Chusan, the same evening; but not without first striking upon a sunken rock, as she proceeded at full speed, from which accident she sustained no injury.

So far this little gallant affair had been perfectly successful, in discovering the rendezvous of the Chinese; but it was believed that many of their soldiers had already crossed over to Chusan, disguised as peasants, in readiness to act in concert with other parties, whenever the

attack should be made on the island. Captain Collinson was, therefore, sent back again in the Bentinck, with orders to prevent the escape of the soldiers from the island of Tai-shan, and the Nemesis was directed to follow as soon as she could get in her fuel.

It was now discovered that the Chinese had managed to extinguish the flames in their boats before they were seriously injured, and had by this means made their escape over to Chapoo. But the Admiral afterwards made a personal examination of the island, with a party of seamen and marines of the Cornwallis. No military depôt was discovered, but two government stations were completely destroyed. The effect of this spirited discomfiture of the Chinese, at Tai-shan, was to secure Chusan from future hostile attacks.

The assembling of these troops so close to Chusan was, doubtless, connected with the grand scheme of attack upon all our positions, which was attempted at this very time, more particularly against Ningpo and Chinhae. It was probably also well known to the Chinese that Sir Hugh Gough was absent at Chusan, whither he had proceeded, in consequence of the rumours afloat concerning the projected attack on that place.

The Chinese seem to have planned their attacks remarkably well; but so many reports had been before brought in, of some projected operations by the Chinese, that at length very little attention came to be paid to them; and when it was positively asserted by Mr. Gutzlaff, the interpreter, on the evening of the 9th, that, from certain information which he had received, there could be no doubt of a grand attack being resolved on

that very night, no one really believed that any thing of a serious nature would occur. It was doubted whether the Chinese, after their recent defeats, would have the moral courage to become themselves the *aggressors*. There were no external indications of any preparations for an attack, although some of the inhabitants were seen leaving the town on that day; and many of the tradesmen, with whom our men were in the habit of dealing, plainly told them that they would have hot work that night. All this was treated merely as a specimen of Chinese bravado.

It is remarkable that we should have had no certain tidings of the collection and preparation of such a vast number of fire-rafts and vessels, higher up the river, as soon proved to have been the case, for the iron-steamers might at all times have been sent up, to ascertain how far any such reports were well grounded. The fact is, the Chinese *did* take us a little by surprise, and that is often the result of holding an enemy too cheap, and having too great a confidence in one's own resources. Circumstances favoured them to a certain extent; the smallness of our force rendered it impossible to keep a line of sentries along the whole circuit of the walls, which were nearly five miles round; the extent and nearness of the suburbs beyond the gates gave the enemy an easy approach without being observed, and the darkness of the night favoured the attempt. The patroles continued to go their rounds as usual, but were not strengthened, though the officers were ordered to go their rounds three times during that night.

There is reason to believe, that a good number of the Chinese soldiers must have previously come into the town in disguise; for the gates were attacked simultaneously both *from within* and *from without.* The movements of the Chinese were so well concerted, that their approach was not discovered until they actually attacked the gates, and gallantly succeeded in *scaling the walls.* Had not the alarm been given by the firing of the ships in the river, and had the Chinese been well officered, it would have caused us heavy fighting to have ultimately dislodged them from the town, a part of which was for a few minutes in their possession. But even their successes, such as they were, only served to embarrass them, for they did not know how to turn them to account. It should be remarked, however, that Sir Hugh Gough had skilfully disposed his troops long before this event, by concentrating them in one part of the town, where their quarters were close to each other, and where they could be mutually supported in case of attack.

It was afterwards discovered that the attacking party were a new body of picked men, from a distant province, who had never yet come into contact with our troops. Money was also found upon the persons of those who were killed, four or five dollars upon each, which had probably been given to them either as arrears of pay, or as a sort of bribe or extra allowance to induce them to fight. But other incentives were also employed, for some of the wounded prisoners were evidently under the excitement of opium. Many of them

were remarkably athletic, fine looking men, and every thing tended to prove that this was a grand and desperate effort.

The first intimation of the attack was by the firing of two guns, which the Chinese had brought down to the river's bank, against H.M.S. Columbine, which, together with the Modeste, was anchored before the town, as were also the H. C. steamers, Queen and Sesostris. This was at half-past twelve, p.m. But the firing was not repeated, (it having probably been only meant for a signal,) and nothing further occurred until about three o'clock; but, by this time, the garrison were under arms.

Four fire-rafts were now discovered dropping down the river from its south-western branch (leading to Fungwah) towards the Sesostris; and, but for the quickness with which one of her cables was slipped, and the assistance of her own boats, aided by two other boats from the Modeste, in towing them clear towards the shore, they would have been across the hawse of the Sesostris. Fortunately the rafts took the ground clear of the steamer, and exploded without doing any mischief.

All this time, the Chinese kept up a fire of small arms from the banks of the river, but without effect. But the Modeste, which was a little lower down the river, below the Sesostris, opened her broadside upon the eastern suburb, with the object of stopping the advance of the Chinese in that direction, and on the following morning it was discovered that her fire had demolished the walls of one or two houses, which fell in,

and disabled the gun which had been brought down on purpose to attack the Modeste.

So far then the attempt upon the river side proved a total failure; but it served as a signal for the general attack upon the town, which began simultaneously at the southern and western gates. The extreme darkness of the night rendered it at first impossible for those who were at a distance to ascertain the precise points of attack. The principal assault, in the first instance, seems to have been upon the South gate, from within and without at the same time. The alarm was given, the bugles sounded throughout the town, and word was brought to Colonel Morris, who commanded the garrison, that the guard at the South gate had been driven in, and the same intelligence was also brought to Colonel Montgomerie, commanding the Madras artillery, who were already under arms upon the ramparts.

A company of the 49th, under Captain M'Andrew, was immediately ordered up by Colonel Morris, towards the South gate, which they were to retake, if it was found to have been carried by the enemy. At the same time, Colonel Montgomerie, with two howitzers, and a party of artillerymen armed with fusils, commanded by Captain Moore, and reinforced by a strong patrol of the 18th under Lieutenant Murray, proceeded also towards the South gate, which he now found in the possession of Captain M'Andrew and his company, who had gallantly *retaken* the gate, after charging down the street which led to it, driving the Chinese before him with the bayonet, and killing a great many of them. The Chinese had penetrated as far as the market-place; many of them

had scaled the walls, and were seen upon the ramparts; but upon being challenged, and seeing the troops advancing, most of them jumped back again over the ramparts, and in this way many were killed, or were shot at random as they were seen running away. Thus the South gate was completely cleared.

Daylight was beginning to dawn, and the West gate was at this time found to be the principal scene of action; indeed it was in that direction that the *main body* of the Chinese seem to have advanced. Orders had been sent to reinforce the guard at the West gate, with the grenadiers of the 49th, and Colonel Morris also hurried up to it in person, with another company of the 49th; while Colonel Montgomerie with the artillery, having been joined by Colonel Mountain with a party of the 26th, proceeded on in the same direction.

On arriving at the West gate, it was found to have been gallantly and successfully defended by Lieutenant Armstrong, who commanded the guard of the 18th, assisted by a small detachment of the 49th under Lieutenant Grant. The enemy had attacked it in great force, rushing boldly up to the very gate, which they attempted to force, while others were endeavouring to scale the wall. The grenadiers of the 49th arrived just in time to assist in completing the repulse of the Chinese.

Colonel Montgomerie, having now come up with his reinforcement, dashed at once through the gateway in pursuit, the enemy having been driven across a small bridge into the suburbs. Numerous dead bodies of Chinese were found close to the gate, but they appeared to be in great force in the suburbs, from which a smart

but ineffectual fire of matchlocks was kept up. A few shells were thrown into the suburbs from the two howitzers; but it was evidently necessary to continue the pursuit through the suburbs, for the Chinese appeared to be in full retreat across a bridge at some distance down, which seemed to be the principal thoroughfare.

Our force on the spot was extremely small, amounting, when they had all fallen in, including artillerymen, to not more than one hundred and twenty-six rank and file and ten officers. But with this small force Colonel Montgomerie determined to dash on, being assisted throughout by Colonel Mountain, C.B., Deputy-Adjutant-General; and accordingly they immediately advanced up the principal narrow street of the suburbs. Having followed it for about half a mile they came upon the main body of the enemy, who crowded the whole length of the street in a dense column, but without appearing to be at all wavering or inclined to give way. On the contrary, a high officer on horseback was seen to encourage the men, who set up a great shouting, and brandished their swords and spears in defiance. But in a narrow street, the dense mass was necessarily incommoded by its own numbers, and the steady fire of the head of our column as they advanced upon them, one section delivering its fire, and the next taking its place for the first to reload, brought down all their foremost and boldest men, every shot telling with unerring certainty. They could neither advance to charge our column, nor could they retreat, as long as the rear of their column chose to hold their ground.

On coming up within about fifty paces of them, the

two howitzers were ordered up to the front, while a party of the 18th, under Lieutenant Murray and Lieutenant Molesworth of the artillery, were ordered round by a side lane, to act upon the enemy's flank; Colonel Mountain and Colonel Montgomerie also went round, (having first waded across a canal,) and witnessed the terrific effect of the fire of three rounds of grape in quick succession from the howitzers, which dealt terrible havoc among them. At the same time the detachment of the 18th fired upon them down the lane as they fled, and a more complete scene of discomfiture and slaughter could not be imagined.

The Chinese were soon in full flight in all directions across the country, the main body of them retreating along the banks of a canal, in a continued line not less than a mile long, while numerous smaller parties broke off from the main body, and tried to escape the best way they could. Many were supposed to have been drowned in the canal. The pursuit was followed up for about seven or eight miles, and the loss of the enemy was estimated altogether at not less than from five to six hundred men, and only thirty-nine prisoners were taken. On our side, one man only was killed, and a few were wounded. The principal loss of the Chinese was inflicted by the fire of the howitzers upon their dense masses in the narrow street, and the sustained fire of our column as it advanced upon them. Not a few, however, were killed inside the walls of the city. The force they brought against us is supposed to have exceeded five thousand men, consisting of their best soldiers, and a great part of them were evidently under the excitement of opium.

Early in the morning, the boats of the Modeste and Sesostris moved up the south-west branch of the river, in search of fire-boats, but found none. In the afternoon, however, the boats of the Columbine, under Captain Morshed, together with the Queen steamer, proceeded up the other, or north-western branch, and discovered, not far up, thirty-seven fire-vessels. They were all in a state of perfect preparation, being filled with combustibles and jars of powder, and also provided with *leather caps and fire-proof dresses* for the men who were to have the charge of them; each of them had also a small punt, or sampan, attached, for the escape of those on board. The early discovery of those which were first sent down, or probably their having been sent adrift too soon down *the other branch* of the river, had evidently disconcerted this part of their plan. The whole of these boats were scuttled and destroyed.

Some miles higher up, near Tsekee, many more junks, of every size and shape, were found filled with combustibles; and still more were discovered higher up, moored on each side of the river. It was also observed that on the hills opposite Tsekee, there were three Chinese encampments, one of which was set on fire by the soldiers, as the boats approached. In fact, it became evident that preparations of a much more extensive kind than we could have anticipated, had been made, for one grand combined effort to drive us into the sea, before reinforcements could join us.

The attack upon Chinhae took place about the same time, but was much less important in its nature, and conducted with less vigour and resolution, than that on

Ningpo. Early in the morning of the 10th March, the alarm was given that ten fire-vessels were floating down the river towards the ships of war and transports at anchor off Chinhae. The boats of the Blonde and the Hyacinth, under Commander Goldsmith of the latter vessel, and Lieutenant Dolling of the former, immediately dashed at them, and drove them on shore, out of the way of the shipping, where they exploded.

About the same time a body of Chinese soldiers got up close to the west gate of Chinhae, without being discovered, until they opened a fire of ginjals, and attempted to force their way in. But Captain Daubeny, with a company of the 55th, immediately sallied out of the gate, and pursued them into the suburbs, whence they fled towards a joss-house, or temple, about a mile from the walls, where they joined the main body, about twelve hundred strong. Colonel Schoedde, with three companies of the 55th, now joined Captain Daubeny, and immediately charged them, and put them to flight. But it was very difficult to follow, or come within musket range of them, owing to the peculiar nature of the ground, which was cut up in all directions by water-courses; although the labyrinths of paths and causeways were, of course, perfectly well known to the retreating enemy. About thirty of the Chinese and two of their officers were killed, but the number of wounded could not be ascertained. A quantity of military weapons and some powder were captured.

The plans of the Chinese had thus signally failed at all points of attack; but it must be admitted that at Ningpo they shewed a great deal of determination

and personal courage, and their plans were, in reality, very well arranged.

Information of these important attacks was immediately sent over to Sir Hugh Gough and Sir William Parker, who were at Chusan, and induced the General instantly to return to Ningpo. Sir William Parker also returned as soon as he had completed his examination of the island of Tai-shan; and he brought with him the Phlegethon and Nemesis, merely stopping at Chinhae on the way, to pick up a few marines and small-arm men, from the Blonde. No time was then lost in pushing up the south-western branch of the river above Ningpo, whither the General had preceded him with part of the 18th and 49th regiments, and two guns, in order to learn if the enemy were in force there.

Tidings had been brought to Sir Hugh Gough, that a strong body of several thousand Chinese troops were posted not far from Fungwah, preparatory to another descent upon Ningpo. But, as soon as he had marched about six or seven miles up, the Sesostris steamer moving parallel with him by the river, with part of the 26th regiment on board, positive information was obtained that the enemy had retreated over the hills the preceding night, and that it would be useless to attempt to follow them.

It only now remained to advance against the strong body of the Chinese who were known to be posted along the banks of the other branch of the river, and who were reported also to have thrown up strong entrenched camps upon the Segoan hills, at the back of the town of Tsekee, and to be commanded by three of their most famous generals.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Advance upon Tsckee — Horse Artillery — Phlegethon and Nemesis destroy fire-boats—The Segoan hills — Positions of the Chinese—Tsekee captured—Double attack upon the enemy—Serious conflict—The heights carried — Flight of the Chinese army—Their retreat harassed by the fire of the steamers—The Chungkie pass—Return to Ningpo — Chinese kidnappers — Curious caricatures — Remarks on Chinese character—Discovery of their preparations—Night attack by fire-rafts at Chusan—Awkward position of the Nemesis—Their plans fail—Dangerous accident—Visit to the island of Pooto—Consecrated ground—Its numerous temples—Beauties of the island—Description —Superstitions of the people—Remarks on the religions of China.

A heavy blow had now been inflicted upon the Chinese, by the severe reverses they had met with at Ningpo and at Chinhae, and by the defeat of all their designs against Chusan. It was therefore a favourable opportunity to follow up our successes, and turn them to the best advantage, before the effect of the impression already made could have time to diminish. It was ascertained that their troops had with difficulty been kept together after their late defeat; and it was reported that they were about to retreat towards Pickwan, a town situated about forty miles higher up the river, at which point they were said to be concentrating their whole force.

Besides the force said to be encamped above Tsekee, on the Segoan hills, it was also ascertained that another body of five or six thousand men was posted in a fortified camp, about seven miles further along the hills to the north-east, close to what is called the Chungkie Pass, and that the military chest of the army was in charge of this division. A Chinese military chest is generally not very well filled, but still there is to a soldier something very tempting in the idea of a *military chest*, particularly when there is a prospect of capturing it.

On the morning of the 15th of March, the force destined for the attack, comprising altogether little more than a thousand men, including the battalion of seamen and marines, were embarked on board the steamers Nemesis, Phlegethon, and Queen, from the north gate of the city; the General and his staff, accompanied by the Admiral and other officers, taking up their quarters on board the Nemesis, which had been dexterously brought close into a wharf near the city gate; so that on this occasion the troops were embarked without the necessity of using boats. The naval brigade was commanded by Captain Bourchier, of the Blonde, assisted by Captain P. Richards. Details of the whole force are given below. There were four 8-pounder guns of the Madras artillery, for which ponies had been trained, and these were now sent early in the morning across from Ningpo by land, escorted by a party of the Madras rifles; by these means the distance was materially shortened, by cutting off a great bend of the river above Ningpo. On reaching

the nearest point, opposite Tsekee, the artillery swam their horses across the river, and were then drawn up in readiness to advance upon the town, which was about four miles distant. The road to Tsekee and the nature of the country were already well known, from the previous visit in the month of December.

Before twelve o'clock, the troops were landed from the steamers near a village, where there was a sort of jetty convenient for the purpose; they then formed, and marched direct up towards the city. At the same time, the Phlegethon was sent higher up the river, together with the Nemesis and two boats belonging to the Cornwallis and Blonde, to endeavour to get near enough to the flank of the Chinese army, to harass them in their retreat.

The Phlegethon started first, because the Admiral and the General who were on board the Nemesis were unwilling to land, until they had seen all the rest of the force on shore before them. But the moment the Admiral had left the vessel, she was backed out from the landing-place, and went up the river for some distance, stern-foremost, at full speed, until she could be conveniently turned.

Having passed round a considerable bend in the river, some miles above the landing-place, they turned up a small branch or creek close to a village, which appeared to lead round nearer to the enemy's positions. The Phlegethon, which was some distance ahead, suddenly came upon five gun-boats, armed and manned, at anchor close to a mandarin station, which proved to have been used as a depôt for powder and mili-

tary stores. Fourteen fire-rafts were also discovered, and the whole of these warlike preparations were destroyed.

As soon as the troops had marched up pretty close to Tsekee, they proceeded to occupy a small hill directly in front of the town, and commanding the southern gate. A few ginjals and two guns were fired at them from the walls of the city, but at such a distance as to make it evident that no serious defence of the place was intended. The main body of the Chinese army was to be seen encamped upon the heights to the northward of the town, called the Segoan Hills; and it was equally evident that the shortest and best mode of advancing to attack them was by first escalading the walls of the town, and then marching straight through it to the northern gate, whence it would be easy to attack the enemy both in front and on the flank. It was necessary to ascertain whether the town was occupied by any considerable force (which there was little reason to expect), and at the same time to deprive the enemy of having the advantage of falling back upon the town when driven from the heights. Orders were therefore given, that the naval brigade, with a party of sappers, covered by the guns under Colonel Montgomerie, should escalade the walls at the nearest point, while the 49th were to blow open the south gate, and immediately join them upon the ramparts. The 49th, on approaching the gate, found the bridge over a canal just outside recently destroyed; but, as the water was shallow, and there appeared to be no likelihood of meeting with any serious opposition, they quietly crept along the canal itself,

which led into the town, and so got *under* the walls, upon the ramparts of which they now found the naval brigade already drawn up.

The 18th, in the mean time, had been sent round, outside the walls, to dislodge a body of Chinese troops who occupied a hill a little to the north-east of the city; and they were directed to join the rest of our force as soon as they reached the north gate. The 26th had been held in reserve to protect the guns, and support the 49th, if necessary. The town was, however, carried without any resistance; and the troops having marched round the ramparts, the whole force was then concentrated at the north gate.

It should here be noticed, that the town of Tsekee lies in a sort of cup, or basin, surrounded almost entirely on three sides by steep hills, being open only towards the river, or to the southward; from the northern hills a low spur is sent down towards the northern gate, and terminates in a small hill within the walls. The Chinese forces were posted upon these heights, a little to the westward of the spur just described, but in such a position that their left was commanded by other hills. On their right they had a second encampment, a little in advance, on the north-western side of the town; but it was evident that their left could be easily turned, and that they could be defeated and completely routed, without much difficulty.

The General's first movement was to direct the 18th, with the rifles, to proceed to occupy a hill on his right, which could only be got at by passing through a steep ravine, but which quite commanded the Chinese left.

As soon as they succeeded in crowning its summit, and had thus turned the Chinese position, the naval brigade (who, in the mean time, were to occupy two large buildings under the walls, a little on the north-western side of the town) were to carry the hill in their front, on which the Chinese were encamped, while the 49th were at the same time to attack the centre of the Chinese position.

It is worthy of remark that the Chinese, with one or two trifling exceptions, seem never to have made use of field-artillery. Of course, where they had forts, they had guns mounted; but they did not appear to regard artillery as a necessary part of a regular army.

On this occasion, our loss would probably have been severe, if the heights had been defended by a numerous artillery; but they opened a smart fire of ginjals upon the naval brigade (the Admiral himself being at their head), as they marched across the paddy-fields outside the walls, with the object of occupying the two large houses, under shelter of which they were to form, in readiness for the attack. They suffered some loss; and, as it appeared that the 18th and rifles, being impeded by the steepness and difficulties of the gorge they had to ascend, were longer in reaching the summit of the hill than had been expected, the General determined to commence the attack in front without waiting for the 18th to turn the flank of the Chinese. The advance was sounded, and the 49th, with the General at their head, rushed up the hill; while the naval brigade, led by Captains Bourchier and Richards, and Commander Watson (the Admiral himself taking part in

the attack), made a dash at the other hill, upon the Chinese right.

Some rockets were fired with great precision into the enemy's position, by Lieutenant Fitzjames and Mr. Jackson, of the Cornwallis, but the Chinese poured in a heavy fire of ginjals and matchlocks upon our troops as they advanced.

The marines and seamen dashed across the paddy-field, and charged up the hill, which was steep and rugged, with great spirit, but were boldly met by the Chinese, who did not shrink from the contest. The leading division soon gained the summit, and the remainder of the brigade pushed round the sides of the hill, to cut off the retreat of the enemy. In this encounter two officers of the Royal Marines and two officers of the naval battalion were wounded; eleven men were also wounded and three killed.

The General, at the head of the 49th, in the mean time carried the hill in his front with great spirit, and detached the grenadiers, under Major Gough, to cut off a body of Chinese who were attempting to get up the rear of the other hill, which had already been carried in front by the naval brigade. This division of the enemy was, therefore, completely hemmed in, and the slaughter was unavoidably great in the hollow at the foot of the hill.

The 49th now continued to press forward, driving the Chinese before them in great disorder across the plain at the foot of the hills; and the 18th and Rifles, having by this time succeeded in turning the enemy's position on the heights, descended into the plain, and joined the 49th and 26th in the pursuit. The whole

Chinese army was now in full flight across the plain, towards the Chungkie Pass, and just passed within range of the Phlegethon and Nemesis, who had taken up an excellent position in the creek, for the purpose of cutting them off. Their guns opened fire upon the scattered fugitives, who suffered severely.

From eight hundred to one thousand men are supposed to have been killed, wounded, or drowned, in this engagement; every attempt was made to spare them, but as most of these troops came from distant provinces, and were reputed to be their best soldiers, they refused to surrender themselves prisoners, with few exceptions. Many officers or mandarins were killed, but only three were taken prisoners. Many of them deliberately cut their own throats, when they saw that the day was irretrievably lost.

Some curious and interesting documents were found, relating to their plans and the disposal of their forces, amongst which were some public proclamations to be distributed among the people. Upon the bodies of many of the slain, pieces of Sycee silver were found, as had been the case at Ningpo, a few days before.

The strength of the Chinese army was estimated at from seven to eight thousand men, part of which appeared to be a picked body, said to belong to the Emperor's guard; they were fine, athletic, powerful, men. It was also remarked that their arms were of a superior description; several improvements had been adopted; and the bow and arrow, once the favourite weapon of the Tartar soldier, had been laid aside on this occasion.

As usual, several personal encounters took place; the Chinese not fearing to engage single-handed with their foe, or to measure their sword with that of our officers. In one of these combats, Mr. Hodgson, mate of the Cornwallis, was wounded, not far from the Admiral. Colonel Mountain was in some danger of being run through, but was saved by a timely shot from one of the 18th. The clothes of the slain were in some instances ignited by their matches, and produced, as on some other occasions, a revolting spectacle.

The night was passed, by our gallant little force, in the tents from which the Chinese had been driven, and which were found to contain plenty of warm coverings and provisions, &c. There were stores of rice, and bread (cakes), and flour, in abundance.

Besides the loss already mentioned, the 49th had three officers and four men wounded. Some of our officers were wounded severely, Lieutenant Lane having had his arm amputed upon the field.

On the following morning, at daylight, the grain magazines in the town, belonging to government, were opened to the people, and, as might be expected, were rapidly emptied. A large quantity of ginjals, matchlocks, and other warlike implements, were also collected upon the battle-field, and were nearly all destroyed. Among other curiosities were nine newly-invented brass tubes, of about three pounds calibre, and thirty-nine pounds weight, each with two handles; they had never been used, but were apparently intended to fire grape-shot. They were curiously bound round with catgut, and were probably to be fired while held between two

men, as they were provided with handles for the purpose. One of them was given to Captain Hall, by the Admiral, and has since been deposited with other Chinese weapons at Windsor. Twenty-three guns were also captured, principally upon the walls of the town.

As the enemy had retreated towards the Chungkie Pass, about six or seven miles distant to the north-west, where it was reported that another fortified encampment had been formed, Sir Hugh Gough moved in advance, about one o'clock on the following day, the 16th; but, having reached the foot of the hills, the position was found completely abandoned, although it was by nature a strong one. Dispositions were made for the attack, but none of the enemy were discovered, and consequently the hoped-for military chest was not captured. The Chinese had only just withdrawn, for they had left behind them some ammunition, and a supply of inferior bread, which is tolerably eatable, however, after a long march.

Having halted about two or three hours for rest, and after setting fire to all the buildings, our little army returned to the town of Tsekee the same evening.

It is proper here to remark that the peasantry, and the inhabitants generally, except where they happened casually to be intermingled with the soldiers during the flight, showed little concern as to the fate of their countrymen. They appeared to be more astonished than frightened, particularly at the swimming of the horses of the artillery across the river, and then seeing them harnessed to the guns.

The town of Tsekee suffered very little. A large pawnbroker's shop was one of the greatest curiosities, being filled with furs, silks, &c. It was a favourite *place of resort*, and, besides that, afforded excellent quarters. It was a large extensive building, like a warehouse, as is commonly the case in China.

This engagement upon the heights of Segoan has been considered by military men as the most scientifically conducted affair which occurred during the war. Its success, at all events, was complete; and the Chinese army, which was now concentrated to the southward of Hang-chow-foo, for the purpose of covering the provincial capital, against which we were expected to advance, was said to be with much difficulty kept together, and to be in great want of supplies. The orders of the Emperor, that the province which was the seat of the war for the time, should defray all its expences, excited much discontent, as might be expected.

Any proposed plan of advancing upon Hang-chow-foo, which might have been thought of, was now abandoned; and the great river, the Yangtze-Keang, was designed to be the principal seat of operations during the ensuing campaign. The vast inland trade passing through this main artery of the empire would be stopped; the traffic by the Grand Canal would be at our mercy; and there seemed every reason to expect that the presence of a large military and naval force, in the heart of the country, would lead the haughty Chinese cabinet to listen to terms of peace, which we hoped to dictate under the walls of the ancient Chinese capital, the imperial Nankin, the depository of the ashes of many of

the ancient emperors of China. Some, however, looked forward to a hoped-for advance upon Pekin, the great Tartar capital, by the river Peiho. The result, however, ultimately proved the wisdom of the former plan of operations.

During the months of April and May, reinforcements continued to arrive to strengthen the expedition, and the belief was general that it was determined to put an end to the war as soon as possible, by some means or other. A fresh corps of Bengal Volunteers, a remarkably fine body of men, arrived from Calcutta; the 41st and the 2d Native Infantry arrived from Madras, with a reinforcement of artillery, and a few horses for the guns. Several steamers and ships of war, with transports, continued to join in succession—namely, the Vixen from England, and the Tenasserim, Auckland, Ariadne, Medusa, and the little Hooghly steamers, belonging to the East India Company, from Bombay and Calcutta, all well armed, and some of them peculiarly adapted for river navigation. Others were expected to arrive in the course of the ensuing summer.

The Chinese, finding that they met with no success against us in the open field, turned their attention more strongly than ever to their two most notable schemes, of kidnapping our men, one by one, and destroying our ships by means of fire-rafts. Large rewards continued to be offered for the capture of our high officers; but their successes in this system were confined to the men, some of whom were occasionally carried off, and a few were put to death in the most barbarous and inhuman manner. Indeed, it was not till after the capture of

Chapoo (the next engagement to be described) that the Chinese began to treat their prisoners with a little kindness and mercy.

Many stories of the cleverness of the Chinese in carrying off prisoners, and of the treatment the latter afterwards met with, are familiar to the reader. Towards the close of the war, they were generally pretty well taken care of, for the Chinese could not be insensible to the kind treatment their countrymen met with, when they fell into our hands. I remember being nearly caught once at Chusan, just at the close of the war; and, the very next day, an attack was made upon two of our officers, who made an excursion in the same direction, and had a very narrow escape. Captain Wellesley, R.N., and Ensign Shadwell of the 55th, were surrounded at less than a mile from the city gate. The latter shot one of the Chinamen in the breast with a pistol (a *single* pistol is always useless), but was immediately taken prisoner by the others, who were probably soldiers disguised as peasants. His arms were pinioned, and he was dragged along *by the legs*. In the mean time, Captain Wellesley, instead of firing his pistol, judiciously ran off towards the city gate, to call out the guard; and, the moment the Chinese saw them advancing, they threw down their prisoner and decamped. He was thus saved.

On some occasions, the Chinese kidnappers had the worst of it, and were themselves captured: these were principally sent down to Hong Kong, to work in chains, but some were kept in prison at Chusan. The respectable inhabitants, however, were anxious to bring about

a more peaceable state of things, and they stated that the kidnappers were not natives of the island, but people sent over purposely from the mainland. It was evident that some secret influence was at work among the people, and that they still dreaded the power of their own authorities, and were instigated to annoy us.

At length, the Chinese became better disposed, and then took to the amusement of making Caricatures of us. Many spirited things of this sort were hawked about, rudely executed and strangely coloured, but withal amusing specimens of Chinese drollery. The two sketches given in a preceding page, one of an encounter between our own soldiers and the Tartars, and the other of an English foraging party, are accurately reduced from the original Chinese caricatures, and show more evidence of fun and quickness than we should have expected among so grave a people. There were many others equally amusing. At Ningpo, they made a sort of little peep-show of the general and his staff, intended to be a correct representation of them in little figures. That of Sir Hugh Gough, with his beautiful long, grey locks, was fairly done. A capital full length picture, in oil, of the General, was afterwards executed at Macao by a Chinese artist, who had been regularly instructed.

The more the Chinese came to mix with us and to be acquainted with our character, the more they seemed to fall into our ways; and we cannot but think that, at no distant period, amicable relations will be established without difficulty, upon an intimate footing. It has often been remarked, that in many respects they

resemble Englishmen in their mercantile, industrious habits, their ingenuity, and their readiness to combine together for useful purposes; their independent spirit, and their love of argument. They differ materially from all other eastern nations with which we have hitherto come in contact.

To return from this short digression. In spite of the failure of the attempts of the Chinese with fire-rafts, in every instance, they persevered in their schemes for burning our ships, with remarkable pertinacity. On the return of our little force to Ningpo, on the 17th of March, after the engagement on the Segoan hills, the Admiral went over to Chusan in the Nemesis, and again hoisted his flag in the Cornwallis. Reports of the preparation of fire-rafts were frequently brought in, and it was known that a great many boats belonging to the fishermen and others had been pressed into the service of the government.

As soon as the Nemesis had undergone some necessary repairs (for which purpose she was beached upon the sands at Trumball Island), she was ordered to explore all the neighbouring islands between Chusan and the Main, in search of fire-rafts, or other warlike preparations. She was joined by H.M.S. Clio, which was however left at anchor at Keeto Point, Captain Troubridge himself coming on board the Nemesis, and bringing one of his boats, manned and armed. In almost every island or bay they visited along the so-called Nimrod's Channel, Gough's Passage, Mesan Island, and other parts to the southward of Chusan, an immense number of fire-boats, in different stages of preparation,

were discovered and destroyed; and, wherever any opposition was offered, the neighbouring hamlets were burnt.

Two or three days were occupied in this important service, during which the Nemesis had her false rudder carried away; and, owing in a great measure to this accident, and to the remarkable strength of the currents, as she was attempting to pass between the island of Luhwang and another small one lying off its eastern point, the current caught her bows, and threw her heavily, *broadside, on to the rocks.* The vessel was soon got off again, but she had bilged in the starboard coal-bunker. The water was pouring in fast, but it was thought that the engine-pumps would suffice to keep it under, until a good sandy beach could be found to run her ashore upon. But the water gained so fast upon the pumps that the fire would not burn much longer, so that it was necessary to run her ashore upon the nearest beach. As the tide ebbed, the water ran out again through the leak; and then, by digging a deep hole in the sand, it was easy to get down below the ship's bottom, and stop the leak from the outside.

A great many fire-boats had been destroyed upon the island that day; and, as it was known to be occupied by a body of Chinese soldiers, a military mandarin on horseback having also been observed superintending the completion of the fire-boats, it was possible that an attack might be made on the vessel at night, and it was therefore prudent to hasten the repairs. The rent was full three feet in length, but it was filled up with stout

wedges of wood, covered with oakum, and driven firmly into it *from the outside.*

To prevent any surprise by the Chinese, sentries were posted upon the neighbouring hills, to give warning of their approach; and, by way of being beforehand with them, a requisition was sent up to the principal village, written in Chinese, by a Chinese servant on board, demanding from the head men, or elders of the place, a supply of provisions, namely, a couple of bullocks, a dozen geese, two or three dozen ducks and fowls, and so forth; and *threatening* to pay a hostile visit to the village next day, if they did not comply. After some deliberation, all these things were promised; so that the authorities, instead of planning an attack upon the vessel, or any attempt upon the men during the night, had quite enough to do to collect these supplies by the following morning. In the mean time, the vessel was repaired and got off again. Information of the accident was, however, conveyed to the Admiral by the Clio's boat; and he immediately sent down the Phlegethon, with the launch of the Cornwallis, to render assistance. By the time they arrived in the morning, the vessel was already, to their astonishment, prepared to proceed to Chusan, where she arrived in the course of the day.

The result of this little expedition was not only the destruction of a great number of fire-boats, but the full discovery of the extensive preparations which were being made, in every direction, for an attempt to destroy our ships.

The Nemesis was now hauled on shore again, upon

the beach, on Trumball Island, and the damage was thoroughly repaired.

Information of the intended attack on our shipping at Chusan had been obtained by Captain Dennis, the military magistrate of Tinghai, late that evening, and was by him communicated to the Admiral. Orders were therefore sent to the different ships of war and transports, to be upon the alert, and have all their boats in readiness. The Nemesis was the only vessel to which the information was accidentally not conveyed; probably because it was thought she was ashore.

A little after eleven, p.m., three divisions of fire-rafts were observed drifting down towards the shipping, from the eastern end of the harbour, some from the direction of Sinca Moon, close along the island of Chusan, some between Macclesfield and Trumball islands, where the Nemesis lay, and others again outside the latter, by the Sarah Galley passage. The first intimation of their approach was given by two lights being observed at some distance; this led to a suspicion of fire-rafts, and by the time the men had got to quarters, several of the fire-vessels burst into flames; others were gradually set on fire, and were seen to take the three different directions before described. Nearly twenty of them drifted down between the islands off which the Nemesis lay; and, as they gradually came within range, her guns opened on them, to try to drive them on shore. There was a small boat ahead of each raft, under sail, and with men in it to tow the rafts in the required direction.

The Nemesis was of course in considerable danger;

for the rafts or fire-boats were chained two and two together, so as to hang across the ship's bows. Steam was got up as quick as possible, the cable was ready to be slipped in case of need, and the steamer's boats were sent out to tow the rafts clear, as they were rapidly bearing down upon her, with a strong ebb-tide. They were all in a complete blaze as they drifted past on either side of her; and so close were they, that it was necessary to wet the decks and the side of the vessel continually, on account of the great heat. Her guns continued to fire at them, in order to sink them, if possible.

Other divisions of the fire-rafts, which came down the passages before described, were driven ashore by the boats of the squadron, and blew up, without doing any mischief to our shipping. Altogether, between fifty and sixty of them at least had been sent down, from the eastern side of the harbour; but it was reported that another division of them was to come down by the western side, from the direction of Sing Kong, as soon as the tide turned; a division of boats, under Lieutenant Wise of the Cornwallis, was therefore sent to endeavour to find them out and destroy them at once.' They were soon discovered to the number of thirty, at anchor off a sandy beach, outside of Bell Island, and their destined work of mischief was frustrated.

On the following morning, the Nemesis and Phlegethon steamers were again sent to search through all the adjacent islands; and the Nemesis succeeded in discovering many more fire-boats, which were now destroyed, upon the different islands; stacks of fire-wood and other

combustible materials which had been collected for the purpose were likewise set on fire. In one village, there were a number of boats half filled with combustible materials; and the whole village was put into an uproar when the crew of the steamer began to set fire to them. It turned out that they had been pressed into the service by the mandarins, and the people naturally wished to save their boats, on which their livelihood depended. Only one poor old woman, however, was permitted to retain her boat, for they might all have been pressed by the mandarins again.

A party of armed seamen and marines were now sent up towards a hill in the rear of the village, along which a number of men had been seen retiring, and amongst them a military mandarin, which made it probable that they were soldiers. The Chinese made a hasty retreat, but the mandarin was observed to try to hide himself behind a tombstone, while he pulled off his warm jacket and nearly all his clothes, and lastly his satin boots, and then, giving them to a man who attended him, away he ran for his life, down the hill on the opposite side, so that there was no chance of overtaking him.

The Phlegethon had been sent in an opposite direction; but on that side no fire-boats were discovered, notwithstanding the active exertions of Lieutenant M'Cleverty. Altogether not less than one hundred fire-boats were destroyed on these different occasions, besides those which had been previously destroyed by the Nemesis and the boat of the Clio. How many Chinese lost their lives in the affair it is impossible to say; but many of them must have been drowned in attempting

to escape on shore, after the fire-rafts burst into flames. In fact, in all the numerous little sheltered bays among those islands, fire-rafts were destroyed in greater or lesser numbers.

On one occasion, and without any warning, the Nemesis ran at full speed, and at high water, upon a dangerous conical-shaped rock, off the north-eastern extremity of Deer Island, near the southern coast of Chusan, although she had frequently been through the same passage before, without having discovered the danger. The tide began to fall almost immediately she struck, so that she was left with her bows high and dry *out of* water, and her stern deep *in the* water, while she had seven fathoms close alongside of her. It was a remarkable position for a vessel to be placed in; part of her bottom was completely clear of the rock and the water too, the vessel being only held by its extremities; and when the tide rose, every attempt to haul her off proved ineffectual. A large indentation, or hollow, was supposed to have been made where she rested upon the rock, which of course held her fast.

The only resource was to try to float her off, by fairly lifting her up, with the help of large casks and junks. The launch and pinnace of the Cornwallis having been sent to her assistance, eight large casks were got out, and boats were sent out to press half a dozen of the largest Chinese trading junks, to assist in the operation. As soon as they were brought alongside, the vessel was lightened, strong hawsers were passed under her bottom, and were secured over the bows of three junks, placed on either side, and then carried aft round

the junk's quarter, and thence led forward and secured round the mast. By these means, as the tide rose, the junks fairly lifted the head of the steamer off the rock, and she was launched into her own element, without having sustained any material injury.

From what has been already stated, it will be readily inferred that the navigation of the Chusan islands is intricate and not unattended with danger; but the natives are so well acquainted with the shoals and rocks and currents in the neighbourhood of all the islands, that an accident is scarcely known among them.

Perhaps the most curious and interesting of all these islands is the consecrated island of Pooto, situated very near the eastern end of Chusan, and only about sixteen miles distant from the town of Tinghai. It is a small, rocky island, broken up into numerous picturesque valleys and romantic glens, the hollows of which are richly cultivated, and abounding in trees and aromatic shrubs; while, from the steep and rugged heights, a most beautiful prospect presents itself on every side, the waters around it being studded with almost innumerable islands as far as the eye can reach. But it is most celebrated for its numerous temples, of which there are said to be nearly four hundred (but this number is probably exaggerated), dedicated to the idolatrous worship of Foo, or Budha. The whole island is, in fact, a large monastery, divided into many brotherhoods. "All the sumptuous and extensive buildings of this island," says Medhurst, "are intended for no other purpose than to screen wooden images from the sun and rain; and all its inhabitants are employed in no other work than the reci-

tation of unmeaning prayers, and the direction of useless contemplations, towards stocks and stones; so that human science and human happiness would not be in the least diminished, if the whole of Pooto, with its gaudy temples and lazy priests, were blotted out from the face of the creation." Each of the priests is furnished with a *string of beads*, which he keeps continually fingering; and, as he counts them, he repeats the same dull, monotonous exclamation, "O-me-to-Fuh." The solid rocks are engraven with Budhist titles, and the whole island is under the spell of the almost talismanic words, O-me-to-Fuh.

Several of the temples are very extensive, and highly ornamented, although they begin to bear the marks of falling greatness. At a distance they look very imposing; but, on nearer inspection, some of them are found to be more or less tumbling to decay; in short, the priests are no longer wealthy, and the visits of superstitious votaries to the island are less numerous than formerly, and consequently the revenues have diminished. There are few places, however, better worth visiting by an inquiring traveller; and three or four days could be spent upon the island with great pleasure and some profit. The temples are gaudily ornamented, and sometimes elegantly planned. You are struck with the succession of shrines, one within the other, the huge gilded statues of Budha, and the monstrous images by which they are surrounded and attended. The temples are generally built in a hollow, or at the bottom of a valley, so that the different shrines or buildings of the principal monasteries rise one above the other,

being built on the declivity of the mountain's side, which terminates in the valley. The yellow tiles of some of them indicate former imperial protection. The most picturesque sites have been chosen for them, and even caverns in the rocks have in some parts been turned into a succession of gilded temples.

There are good causeways leading to every part of the island; on every crag there is either a temple or a little image; the gardens are laid out with extreme care and neatness; and, were you not startled by the gross idolatry which surrounds you, and repelled by the dull, vacant, half-idiotic look of ignorant superstition stamped upon the countenance of every man you meet, you might be almost tempted to believe that it is a rich and happy, a favoured and contented spot. Some of the temples are very striking, and might be called beautiful. In one of them was a very large library, for the use of the monks; but, as far as I could judge, the books appeared to have been little, if at all, used.

It may be well here to remind the reader, that there are three religious systems prevailing in China, and tolerated by the government, viz. those of Confucius, of Laoutze, and of Budha. The two former were contemporaries, and flourished about five hundred years before the Christian era. That of Budha was introduced from India, very soon after the beginning of our era, and gained such hold among the common people of China, that it is now the general superstition of all the lower classes, and its showy temples and gilded images abound throughout the land. Confucius, on the other hand, was simply a political and moral philosopher, and in his tem-

ples no images are found; but he was a politician, and was employed in the public service, *long before he became a moralist.*

Laoutze was a contemplative enthusiast, who taught the cultivation of reason, abstraction from the world, self-denial, &c.; and then wandered into the absurdities of magic arts and demoniac possessions. Nevertheless, he is said to have had some glimmerings of a future state. His followers are in the present day called the sect of Taon.

The Budhism of China probably differs little from that of India; the daily prayers are repeated in a language of which the priests do not understand a syllable. In the temple are the three huge Budhas—the Past, the Present, and the Future; with a Goddess of Mercy, a God of War, a God of Wealth, and others. There is, in front of the altar, a large bronze cauldron, for burning gilt paper; and a huge drum and a bell, to awaken the especial attention of the god. Such are the temples of Pooto.

In cases of extreme emergency, as during the prevalence of great drought and threatened famine, the Emperor orders prayers to be offered up in the temples of all the three sects for a cessation of the evil. But the Confucian is the system of religion to which the Emperor and his court adhere.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Evacuation of Ningpo—Remarks on that city—Its importance as a place of trade—Former factory—Why abandoned—Jesuit missionaries first landed there—Their character, and great temporary success—Edicts against Christians at Pekin—Re-embarkation of our troops at Ningpo—Squadron sails for Chapoo—Position and aspect of the city—Reconnoissance in the Nemesis—Preparations for the attack—18th May, 1842—Description of Chinese positions—Our troops land to the attack from the Nemesis—Positions of our ships—Heights carried—Obstinate defence of a house by the Tartars—Repeated failures—Distressing scenes—18th Royal Irish—Prisoners tied by their tails—Walls of the city scaled by the 55th—Naval brigade—Anecdotes—Great attention to the wounded Chinese—Elepoo afterwards thanks Sir Hugh Gough for his humanity—Notices of the Tartar city and population—Habits of the Tartars—Never distort the feet of women—Devotion of children to their parents—Beautiful country round Chapoo—Casualties—Chinese prisoners restored.

At the commencement of the month of May, 1842, it became generally understood that a movement was very soon to be made upon Chapoo, which was to be followed by the advance of the whole expedition up the great Yangtze river. Ningpo, however, is deserving of one or two further observations, for it is one of the most important trading cities in China; and, from its position, and its vicinity to several large and wealthy cities, such

as Hang-chow-foo, Soo-chow-foo, and others which border upon the Imperial Canal, there is every reason to believe that an extensive trade will soon be opened there.

Ningpo lies at the distance of only fifty miles from the trading town of Chapoo, which possess a monopoly of the whole trade with Japan and Corea. Hence there is reason to believe that our manufactures will soon find their way into these latter countries (which have hitherto excluded the foreigner more pertinaciously even than the Chinese) indirectly by way of Ningpo; and that, in a few years, many articles expressly adapted for the Japan market will be ordered to be manufactured in this country, and sent to Chinese merchants at Ningpo. This city is famous for its silks, which are very beautiful of their kind; and the shops are elegant, and well supplied with all kinds of Chinese manufactures. It is a wealthier and much handsomer town than Amoy, and is much superior in commercial importance to Foo-chow-foo, another of the newly-opened ports. Large junks are even built on the Ningpo river, and the people have always shown a great disposition to trade with foreigners. Indeed this is the case in *every* part of China where the people have not been held back by their mandarins.

Mr. Gutzlaff, in one of his early voyages, obtained a list of all the foreign ships which had formerly visited Ningpo, and found their number to be considerable; and it was stated to him that some of the very old people still retained a very faint recollection of the foreigners. The Portuguese traded at this place in the sixteenth century, and the English had a factory there

as late as the middle of the last century. It was finally pulled down in 1759, and all foreign trade was then absolutely prohibited, by express orders from Pekin.

The principal objection made by the government at that time to permit trade at Ningpo was simply "the loss of the imperial revenue, accruing from the overland carriage of tea and other goods to and from Canton." Add to this the great extortions of the local officers, who here, as well as at Chusan, demanded such exorbitant fees and bribes, that it was found impossible to carry on trade with any chance of profit.

It was at Ningpo that the Jesuit missionaries first set foot in China; and thence, making their way to Pekin, succeeded by *good policy*, scientific acquirements, and conciliatory demeanour, in winning the good-will of the people, and the toleration of the government. This was towards the end of the seventeenth century. For a time they possessed great influence; and sanguine expectations were entertained of the valuable results of their labours, and of the rich fruits which would ripen to maturity, as soon as the tree of Christianity which they planted in China should spread its roots throughout the land. Various causes conspired to produce their downfall in China, principally connected with the political state of Europe at that time. But it has been well observed by Sir George Staunton, in his preface to the translation of the Penal Code of China, that "the extinction of the order of Jesuits in that country caused the adoption of a plan of conversion more *strict*, and probably more orthodox, but in the same proportion more unaccommodating to the prejudices of the people,

and more alarming to the jealousy of the government. Generally speaking, it threw the profession *into less able hands*, and the cause of Christianity and of Europe lost much of its lustre and influence. The Jesuits were generally artists or men of science, as well as religious teachers."

Ultimately, the teaching of Christianity at Pekin was strictly prohibited, and particular objection was made to the printing or translation of books into the *Chinese and Tartar languages;* and in 1805 all books of this kind were ordered to be seized and destroyed, and the Tartar subjects were specially exhorted to attend to the language of their own country, and the admonitions of their own government; and, above all, to *practice riding and archery*, and to study the works of the learned and virtuous, and particularly to observe all the *social duties.*

Thus we observe that Ningpo, which is now at length for ever opened to the commerce and the intercourse of all foreigners, has already figured in past ages as a place of vast importance, and has become distinguished by many interesting associations.

To return from this digression. On the 7th of May, 1842, the city of Ningpo was given up, as it was impossible to spare a garrison for so large a city. Neither was it any longer necessary to retain possession of it, for the occupation of Chinhae at the river's mouth would command the whole trade of the city. Some of the principal inhabitants, merchants, and others were assembled by Sir Hugh Gough, and into their hands the custody of the city was given over, in the absence of all

the constituted authorities. As might be expected, our evacuation of Ningpo was represented to the Emperor as a great victory gained. The Chinese looked on in apparent astonishment, but there was no shouting or expression of public feeling, and the gates were given over to the persons selected for the purpose, who took possession of them with a party of their followers, very little differing in appearance from the common rabble. Our troops embarked in perfect order on board the Queen, Sesostris, and Phlegethon, and without any irregularity whatever.

The reinforcements which had already arrived in the Chinese waters had not all yet joined the main body to the northward; in fact, they did not leave Hong Kong until a month afterwards, but Sir Hugh Gough decided on proceeding to the attack of Chapoo without waiting for them. All the troops, however, which could possibly be spared from Chinhae, Chusan, and Kolingsoo (Amoy), small garrisons only being left at each of those places, had been called in, and the transports were, therefore, tolerably crowded. The anchorage close to the small island called Just in the Way, lying nearly midway between Chusan and Chinhae, was the appointed rendezvous for the ships; and owing to various circumstances they were unable to leave it before the 13th (May.)

The whole force which the General had now at his disposal, exclusive of the naval brigade, was about two thousand two hundred men, including the artillery and the gun lascars, and sappers and miners. To this must be added about one hundred and ten officers. The

force was divided into three columns: the right, composed of the 18th and 49th regiments, each being from four to five hundred strong, together with a few sappers and miners, in all about nine hundred and twenty men and forty-eight officers, was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Morris. The centre, under Lieutenant-Colonel Montgomerie, (Madras Artillery) was composed of a small detachment of the Royal Artillery, (twenty-five men only) with the Madras Artillery and sappers, and the Madras Rifles (one hundred men) in all about four hundred and sixty men, (including lascars) and fifteen officers. And the left, composed of the 26th and 55th regiments, (the latter only half the strength of the former) together with twenty-five sappers, in all eight hundred and twenty men, and two hundred and thirty officers, was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Schoedde.

On the 13th the ships of war, the Cornwallis, Blonde, Modeste, Columbine, Starling, Algerine, and Plover, with the troop-ship Jupiter, and several transports, got under weigh with a light breeze; they soon passed the hill of Chinhae, (the Pelican being at anchor in the river) and afterwards neared the Teshan Islands, and then, hauling up to the westward, made the remarkable hills about Chapoo, and anchored in seven and a half fathoms water, seventy-five miles from land. Chapoo itself is in reality situated in what may be called an open roadstead (with a shallow dry harbour close to the town) on the northern side of the large deep bay, into which the river which flows down past Hang-chow-foo, called the Tshen-tang river, empties itself. The tides there are remarkably rapid at all times; and on the

following day a strong breeze setting in from the north-east with hazy weather, it was impossible to move from the anchorage. The next day there was still no improvement in the appearance of the weather, and it was not until the 16th that a reconnoissance of Chapoo could be made by the General and Admiral on board the Phlegethon and Nemesis steamers.

No information upon which reliance could be placed had been obtained, as to the actual strength of the Chinese force at Chapoo, but the general belief was, either that a very large body of troops would be found there, or that the place would have been abandoned altogether by the enemy, for the purpose of concentrating their forces for the protection of Hang-chow-foo. This question was soon set at rest.

The view of Chapoo and the adjacent hills from the sea as you approach the coast is very remarkable. The town and its extensive suburbs are situated near the western extremity of a small promontory, stretching east and west for the distance of between four and five miles. The suburbs, which appear to be the principal resort for merchants and traders, and contain the most wealthy shops, run along the edge of the beach, partly at the foot of the hills which rise up on either side, and partly occupying a low flat between them. The actual walled town stands about half a mile in the rear, and the nature and extent of its defences could not be accurately ascertained.

As the steamers were running in, so as to get near enough to observe the nature of the Chinese defences, and the works thrown upon the adjacent hills, a large

fishing-boat was brought-to, to get information, and three of the fishermen, being brought on board the Nemesis, were questioned as to the number of Chinese troops, &c., on shore. One of these men stoutly denied that there were any soldiers there at all; but, upon a threat that they would all be hanged if they were found to conceal the truth, the other two men declared that there was a large force assembled for the defence of the place.

On a nearer approach it was observed that there were three principal hills extending along the coast to the eastward of the suburbs, for the distance of full three miles, and two or three small islands lying off a little bay at their eastern extremity, and contributing to shelter it, and to make it a good landing-place for our troops. Upon the heights above, several breastworks were thrown up, particularly along the slopes between the hills. Upon the side of the hill nearest the town were two small batteries, mounting five and seven guns, and upon a low hill in front of the suburbs there was a circular battery of twelve to fourteen guns. Along the shore, a little further westward, a masked battery was commenced, but apparently not yet completed. The steamers ran in close enough to be able, with a glass, to observe the mandarins despatching messengers along the heights, upon which a great number of troops were posted, but they did not fire at the steamers, although they came within range. Indeed the Chinese seemed disinclined to commence an action, and thus provoke a contest.

Soundings were taken along the shore without any interruption; and Captain Hall landed with a boat's

crew upon a low beach, to see if it was adapted for landing troops. The anchorage was more completely surveyed by Commanders Kellett and Collinson, who carefully sounded along the whole coast at night, thus enabling the Cornwallis, Blonde, Modeste, and the other vessels before named, to take up advantageous positions against the enemy's works, and to cover the landing of the troops, which it was decided should take place in the bay to the eastward before mentioned. From that point it appeared to the General that the heights could be turned, and the enemy cut off before they could make good their retreat upon the walled city.

At daylight, on the 17th, the whole of the men-of-war and transports got under weigh, and stood in towards Chapoo, with a light breeze from the southward, the Nemesis and Phlegethon leading, and giving the soundings by signal to the Cornwallis, the Algerine having dropped astern, owing to the light wind. At eight, a.m., they came to anchor about four miles off shore, it being nearly calm and high water. The positions had already been assigned to the respective ships, and particularly to the steamers, who were to land the troops. The fleet got under weigh again soon after one o'clock, with a fresh breeze from the south-west, and beat in towards the anchorage of Chapoo, which they reached in the evening, when each ship took up its allotted position without any obstacle. The Nemesis anchored close in shore, in three fathoms water, and from her deck every movement of the Chinese could be seen, even without the aid of a glass. The transports were anchored near the islands, off the little bay to the eastward, where the

troops were to land, under cover of the Starling, Columbine, Plover, and Algerine. The Cornwallis and Blonde took up positions against the small batteries upon the hill-side next the suburbs, upon the top of which there was a temple, or joss-house, occupied by a large body of the enemy, and the Modeste was placed nearer the suburbs, to act against the works in front. The Nemesis, Phlegethon, and Queen steamers were in the first instance to land the troops from the transports, assisted by the boats, while the Sesostris steamer was anchored in shore, to shell the Chinese as they retreated before our advancing troops.

The sun set clear and brilliant on that evening, the last which many a brave man on both sides was doomed to look upon. It was little thought that any serious loss would be sustained on our side, and every heart beat high that night, in expectation of the morrow. Our gallant officers and men who fell were perhaps the least fearful of the result, and counted on the glory, forgetful of its price. The Chinese were on the alert during the night, and brought down some large ginjals, which they planted upon the hill-side, abreast of the Nemesis, but did not make use of them.

At daylight next morning the Nemesis went alongside the transports, to take in the 18th Royal Irish, under Colonel Tomlinson, and, having landed them in the appointed bay, returned immediately to fetch part of the 55th, together with the rifles; the remainder of the 55th, with the 26th, 49th, and Artillery, being landed by the Queen and Phlegethon, assisted by the boats of the squadron, the whole under the direction of

Commander Charles Richards, of the Cornwallis. Sir Hugh Gough landed with the first or right column from the Nemesis, and at once occupied a height which commanded the landing-place, without meeting with any opposition. As usual, the Chinese had neglected their flanks, as if an enemy could only think of attacking them where they were most prepared to defend themselves.

As soon as the whole of the troops were formed, Colonel Schoedde was directed to move with the 26th and 55th regiments, forming the left column, and Colonel Montgomerie, with the Artillery and Rifles, forming the centre, as rapidly as possible round the base of the heights, in the rear of which there was a broken valley, leading up in the direction of the walled town, from which, by this means, the retreat of the Chinese would be cut off. Sir Hugh Gough moved with the left column, composed of the 18th and 49th regiments, under Colonel Morris, along the crest of the heights, driving the enemy before him from one point to another. As soon as the advance was sounded in that quarter, the ships of war opened fire upon the enemy's right flank, near the town, and after a few rounds, the Chinese fled from their field-works, and from the joss-house upon the summit of the hill.

The Nemesis, in the mean time, having united her fire to that of the other ships, was signalized to close the Cornwallis, for the purpose of protecting the landing of the battalion of seamen and marines under Captain Bourchier, who was accompanied by the Admiral himself, who never shrunk from fatigue or danger, ashore

or afloat. The enemy's right flank was now turned, and their principal works were fortunately carried before the Chinese had time to spring the mines which they had prepared. The enemy was soon in full flight.

The Sesostris threw some shells in upon the Chinese centre, as our troops advanced upon them from their left; but, owing to the rapid movement of the left column round the base of the hills, and the dangerous direction of the line of fire of the steamer, there was at one time more chance of danger to our own men than to the Chinese. The sides of the hills were covered with a great number of tombs, which, together with the broken nature of the ground, afforded shelter and rallying points for the enemy, behind which they occasionally made a stand, and suffered severely in consequence. Many of the Tartars were even seen deliberately cutting their own throats, as our men were advancing upon them.

But the most terrible scene, and the point at which the greatest loss on our side occurred, was a large house partly enclosed with a wall, situated at the end of a little valley, about a mile from the walls of the town. About three hundred resolute Tartar soldiers, finding their retreat cut off, took refuge in this building, determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible, expecting no quarter from their enemy. The defence of this large building was no part of their original design; but, as they were driven into it, one after another, without any means of escape, they were forced to defend themselves. Then umber who might be inside was not at first known; and two small parties of the 18th and 49th, under Lieu-

tenant Murray, of the former corps, and Lieutenant and Adjutant Browne, of the latter, attempted to follow them in, but were unable to effect an entrance. Of the 49th party, Lieutenant Browne and Michell were the only two who escaped untouched. One man was killed and the rest wounded.

This little check was now reported to Lieutenant-Colonel Stevens of the 49th, who soon came up. Perceiving that there were a great many of the enemy in the house, and that they were firing from the windows and doors, he ordered our troops to be withdrawn under cover, until the guns were brought up. Colonel Tomlinson, of the 18th, having overheard some injudicious remarks which he thought reflected upon himself, instantly put himself at the head of a few of his own regiment and of the 49th, and rushed in at the door of the joss-house. Scarcely a second had elapsed when he fell a corpse into the arms of his men, having received two balls in his neck. In fact, every man who attempted to enter was either wounded or killed, as he became exposed to the steady aim of the Tartars, in the narrow doorway, the light being full upon him, while the Tartars were themselves concealed from view.

The failure of this second attempt to enter the building, added to the not unnatural exasperation occasioned by the death of Colonel Tomlinson, rendered it very difficult to restrain the men from recklessly exposing themselves. Just at this time, one 6-pounder gun was brought up by Major Knowles, and some rockets were also thrown into the house, but did not succeed in setting it on fire. The field-piece made very little impression

upon the walls; but it was important that the place should be destroyed and the Tartars captured. In the mean time, it was blockaded by two companies of the 18th Royal Irish.

While this was going on, Sir Hugh Gough had marched on towards the city wall, and was joined there by Sir William Parker with the naval brigade. As soon as the Admiral had landed, Captain Hall, with three of his officers (including the surgeon), and sixteen men, (eight seamen, and eight of the Bombay artillery), also landed as volunteers, and, after clearing a hill in their front of some straggling Chinese soldiers, they advanced directly up the hollow, at the extremity of which stood the large building just mentioned. Already Colonel Tomlinson was killed and several other officers wounded; both the rockets and the small field-piece had failed to clear the house of its defenders. Captain Pears, the Field Engineer, had also come up, and proposed to endeavour to blow in a portion of the outer wall by means of a bag of powder.

Seeing a small side-door open, Captain Hall, followed by Lieutenant Fitzjames and one of his own men, got close to it and fired into it, wounding a Tartar mandarin, but it was too hazardous to try to force a passage in; and, as the defenders kept up a smart fire from the windows above, it was necessary to retire under cover. An attempt was then made to set fire to the building, by throwing combustibles in at the principal door; and Captain Hall rushed in towards it, with a bundle of straw in one hand and his sword in the other, followed by several of his men and one or two officers. Scarcely had he

reached the doorway, when a smart fire was opened from within, by which two men were shot dead close by his side, but he himself escaped as if by a miracle.

The bodies were instantly removed to a place of safety, and this attempt failed, as the others had done. Three or four of the Tartars now made an attempt to escape, by rushing out of the doorway, and ran the gauntlet of ten or a dozen shots directed at them. They ran for their lives and escaped, although, from the traces of blood, it was thought that more than one of them must have been wounded.

Captain Pears at length got a powder-bag fixed to the northern wall of the building, which blew it in; and a small party of the 18th again attempted to enter it, but one of them was killed, and two wounded, and the rest withdrew. In fact, it was so dark inside the building, and the space was so narrow, that it was impossible to make a rush at it.

It was next proposed to set the place on fire, for on one side the upper part of the building appeared to be built of wood. Another powder-bag was fixed to that side of the house, just below the wood-work, in the hope that it would knock it all down together, or else set it on fire. The explosion was so powerful that it not only destroyed part of the wall, but brought down the wood-work above it, and thus many of the Tartars above became exposed, of whom some were shot, and others succeeded in getting down below. But, wherever a Tartar showed himself at a window in any part of the building, several muskets were levelled at him; and, on the other hand, so well did the Tartars take aim with

their matchlocks, that one of the Royal Irish, who *would* persist in merely peeping round the doorway "just to see if he couldn't pick off a Tartar," received a shot in his knee, before he had himself time to fire.

The fragments of the wood-work, which had tumbled down, were now collected into a heap by the sappers, and set on fire, which soon communicated to the rest of the building. Gradually, as it spread, the matchlocks of the Tartars (probably of the fallen) were heard to go off, and loud cries were uttered. The rest of the defenders must evidently surrender; and, on entering the doorway, the poor fellows could now be seen stripping off their clothes to avoid the flames, and running about in despair from one side to the other. About fifty were taken prisoners, but two or three, who tried to escape, were shot; and so exasperated were the 18th at the loss of their colonel and some of their comrades, that it was not without difficulty they were prevented from putting several of the prisoners to death. These were now tied together by their tails, in parties of eight or ten, so that they could not well run away all together; and they were marched off, under an escort, to the walled town, which had already been taken possession of.

The walls had been scaled near the east gate, by the grenadiers of the 55th, without opposition; and the other gates of the town were soon occupied by passing round the ramparts. There were few guns, or even ginjals, mounted on them; and the Chinese, having been once driven from the heights, and cut off from the city, were dispersed all over the country, a large body of them taking the direction of Hang-chow-foo.

Between Chapoo and that city there is a good canal communication, supposed to be connected with the grand canal itself; and, in addition to that, the communication by land, along a good causeway, broad enough for artillery, gave many facilities for an immediate advance upon the capital. It was said also that a curious Chinese map of the road and of the adjacent country had been obtained; but, with so small a force, it was not thought advisable to march further inland.

If the loss of the Chinese was great on this day, so was it on our side much greater than on any previous occasion. The high spirit of the Tartar soldiers, the descendants of the conquerors of China, and soldiers by birthright, could not brook a total defeat; and, when they were also stimulated by the excitement of opium, their self-devotion and stubbornness tended to increase their loss. When they could no longer fight, they could die; and the instances of mad self-destruction, both within the city and without, were perfectly horrible. Many of the Tartars were with difficulty prevented from cutting their throats, which they attempted to do with apparent indifference. On visiting the large building, or joss-house, which had resisted so long and had cost so many lives, a number of dead and wounded men were found huddled together in a horrible manner, in one of the outbuildings attached to it. The ruins of the house were still smoking, and our object was to drag out the wounded and put them under cover until they could be properly attended to, for, on all occasions, the Chinese wounded received every attention that

could be shown them from our medical officers. Just as our men began to move aside the dead bodies, a Tartar soldier, who had until now concealed himself among them, literally rising from the dead, stood up suddenly and drew his sword. But, instead of making a dash for his life, or giving himself up as a prisoner, he began deliberately to hack his own throat with the rusty weapon, and inflicted two wounds upon himself before his hand could be stopped. Another man was found concealed in a deep hollow in the earth, where there was a sort of oven, and could not be got out until some men were sent to dig him out, and he was then found to be wounded. Altogether, the scene at this house was quite enough by itself to appal any man with the horrors of war. Many of the wounded were dreadfully mutilated, and the dead bodies were charred and disfigured.

A large building in the city was specially set apart for the Chinese wounded, and the great kindness and attention they received at Chapoo produced important effects afterwards upon the authorities, and induced them to treat our prisoners with kindness, instead of torturing them to death, as had frequently been the case. The veteran Elepoo, who was, in fact, at that time governor of Chapoo (having been partially restored to favour by the Emperor), expressly thanked the General and the Admiral for their humanity, in a letter written about a month afterwards. "On inquiry," said he, "I found that you gave the hungry rice to eat, and allowed to the wounded medical attendance, and we feel obliged for your kindness and courtesy." But this

was not the only mark of their gratitude, as we shall presently relate.

Too much praise cannot be given to the superintending surgeon, Dr. French (often mentioned in the despatches), and the other medical officers, for their constant attention to the Chinese wounded, whenever they had an opportunity. Occasionally, however, the Chinese *refused* all assistance.

Among the Tartar population, who were here for the first time met with, living entirely separate from the Chinese, and preserving their own habits and privileges, it is admitted by all that the most shocking scenes were witnessed; and the similar barbarities which were afterwards observed at the Tartar city of Chin-keang-foo confirm all that has been said of the cruel and revolting practices of that remarkable people in time of war. All accounts concur in giving their testimony to the fact of the self-destruction of whole Tartar families; the women destroying their children, drowning them in wells, and throwing themselves in afterwards; the husbands hanging and poisoning their wives, and deliberately cutting their own throats.

Every effort was made to put a stop to these barbarities, and every means were used to pacify and soothe the people; but as the greater part of the Tartar population had abandoned the Tartar portion of the city, the Chinese rabble set about plundering it, and frightened the few who remained, even more than our own people. In fact, Chapoo was exposed to plunder by both sides; but the people themselves were uniformly treated with consideration.

The Tartar town, which was separated from the other by a wall enclosing about one-fourth of the space within the city, presented its peculiar aspect. The houses were disposed something after the manner of tents in an encampment, one of the last traces of the wandering pastoral habits of the race; to each hut was attached a small bit of open ground, with a bamboo fence round it, and a few trees within; and the vine was not unfrequently seen twining itself among the bamboos. Their scanty furniture was more rude than that of the Chinese; and the bow, with its quiver full of arrows, the spear, the sword, and the matchlock, seemed to be the most cherished ornaments of their abode. *They* alone are permitted to retain their weapons in their own charge. Indeed, the Tartar here lives as a conqueror, and glories in the emblems of conquest which he still has around him. In other respects, they are all subject to the same laws, and wear the same dress, but differ a good deal in their countenance and expression. Commonly the Tartars are a fairer people than the Chinese, and some of them much resemble Europeans.

It is worthy of remark, that the conquerors imposed upon the conquered the practice of shaving the head, except the back part, with its long tail; but they themselves took care never to adopt the absurd Chinese custom of preventing the growth of the female foot, and even deforming it, in such a way as to render it nearly useless to its owner. From the Emperor's court to the lowest soldier's wife, no Tartar woman ever has her foot tortured into deformity. At Chusan, I remember seeing a Tartar woman walking about with her natural undeformed feet,

and she was looked at as a curiosity by the Chinese inhabitants, who stared and smiled as if they thought it a strange innovation.

The attention of children to their parents, for which the Chinese as well as Tartars are remarkable, was shewn in many instances, even amid the trials of war, at Chapoo. The aged and infirm were of course unable to fly from the city, and many of these were found in the Tartar houses, carefully tended by their daughters, who staid behind, and braved the expected horrors of an enemy's approach, rather than abandon an aged parent. There were some touching scenes of this kind; and when they found that they were not treated harshly, their fears, which at first were distressing, gradually disappeared. It is to be hoped that the example of humanity and of forbearance, which was set on all occasions by the *new* conquerors, will serve greatly to modify the barbarous ideas of war which they appeared to entertain, and cause them to respect and admire the principles of the advanced civilization of Europeans, as well as to dread their power.

The country about Chapoo is perhaps one of the richest and most beautifully cultivated spots in the world. It nearest resembles some of the prettiest parts of Devonshire. The low hills immediately adjoining the town, the rich, luxuriant, well-watered plain beyond, interspersed with numerous hamlets and villages, with their curiously-shaped blue tiled roofs, and intersected by canals and causeways, formed a very attractive panorama, and served to indicate the means by which so dense a population is supported. But even

there the horrors of war were still to be traced; dead bodies floating along the canals (probably of wounded who had been carried away and had died); parties of Chinese plunderers, hastening across the country, laden with every kind of property; and perhaps occasionally a little quiet European foraging party, hunting out ducks, and fowls, and pigs, for which, however, it is but justice to say that the peasants were generally very well paid.

It was not the object of Sir Hugh Gough to occupy the city longer than was necessary for the purpose of destroying the Arsenals, and property belonging to the government, including of course the iron guns, gingals, &c. The brass ones, some of which were very good, were sent over to Chusan, as were also our own wounded men. Several horses, or rather ponies, which had belonged to mandarins, were captured by our officers; and one of these, a stout grey, was carried up to Calcutta in the Nemesis, after the war was over.

The number of Chinese engaged at Chapoo has been estimated at between seven and eight thousand men, of whom about one-fourth were Tartars. It is difficult to estimate the number of their killed and wounded, but it must have been very great; it has been estimated that nearly one-sixth of them suffered more or less. On our side, two officers, one sergeant, and ten men were killed, including three of the naval brigade, of which two belonged to the Nemesis; six officers, one sergeant, and about forty-five men were wounded, many of them severely. The following were the names of the officers killed and wounded: Killed—Lieutenant-

Colonel Tomlinson, 18th Royal Irish, and Captain Colin Campbell, 55th regiment, died two or three days after, from a severe wound in the head. Wounded—Staff, Lieutenant-Colonel Mountain, C.B., Deputy-Adjutant-General, severely (three balls in his back); Lieutenant A. E. Jodrell, 18th; Lieutenant A. Murray, 18th, Captain T. S. Reynolds, 49th, Lieutenant and Adjutant W. P. K. Browne, 49th, and Lieutenant J. G. Johnstone, Madras Sappers and Miners.

There were ten brass guns taken, together with eighty-two iron ones, and a number of ginjals, &c. The Chinese prisoners were all sent back before our force left the place, and a certain sum of money was given to each of them, as will be particularly mentioned in the next chapter. And this fact, coupled with the kindness which the wounded had received, led to the restoration of all our kidnapped prisoners shortly afterwards, with similar or larger presents, conferred upon them by the orders of the Chinese authorities.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Overtures made by the Chinese—Exchange of prisoners—Generous conduct of Elepoo—Anecdote—Our prisoners led through the Chinese camp—Hong merchants ordered up from Canton—Not received—Rendezvous at the mouth of the Yangtze river—Reconnoissance of Woosung—Junks laden with iced fish—Mandarins going their rounds—Anecdote of the Nemesis—Woosung river and its batteries described—Dispositions for the attack—Ships all towed into action by steamers—Spirited fire of the Chinese—Positions of the ships—Modeste and Nemesis roughly handled—Captain Watson's gallantry—War junks and wheel boats attacked by the Nemesis—Description—Proceedings of the light squadron—Captain Watson lands and attacks the flank of the long battery—Warm reception—Desperate resistance of the Tartars—A check—The enemy give way—Sir Hugh Gough lands, and proceeds to capture Paou-shan—Advance upon Shanghai—Description of that city—A wealthy commercial emporium—Remarks on the country and character of the people—Chinese Arcadia—Amusing descriptions—Tea-gardens—Ice-houses—Bishop of Shanghai—His history—Sporting—Steamers proceed up the river—Nearly reach Soo-chow-foo—Our forces are again concentrated at Woosung.

The results of the capture of Chapoo, and of the total defeat of the best troops the Chinese had yet brought against us, were very remarkable. On the one hand, the people more than ever dreaded our power, while they also wondered at our forbearance; and, on the other hand, the tone of the government began evi-

dently to change, and overtures were now made (probably with a view to gain time,) to induce our military and naval commanders-in-chief to suspend hostilities. Advances of a similar kind had been made at Chinhae, but did not appear to be founded upon sufficient authority to permit them to be entertained. They were renewed at Chapoo, but in an equally unsatisfactory manner; and the agent of the Chinese on both occasions, and also on subsequent ones, was a mandarin of low degree, the very sending of whom was sufficient to point out that their object was merely to sound our disposition, and blind our credulity. Sir Henry Pottinger was still at Hong Kong, which place he did not leave until the beginning of June, so that under any circumstances the only result at present could have been a temporary suspension of hostilities.

At Hang-chow-foo, the people were so much alarmed that they openly expressed their dissatisfaction to the High Imperial Commissioner Yih-king, who was also generalissimo of the forces, a member of the imperial cabinet, and a relation of the Emperor. But, above all, the generous treatment of the Chinese prisoners, by the orders of Sir Hugh Gough, the attention shown to their wounded, and their being at last all given up before our forces left Chapoo, *each of them receiving a present of money*, (about three dollars for each man) all these humane proceedings together produced a most powerful impression upon all classes of the Chinese.

When the Chinese prisoners were sent back from Chapoo, a letter was at the same time addressed to

Elepoo,[1] in reply to the overtures which had been made. It was to the effect, "that hostilities could not be suspended until the Chinese government were disposed to negociate on the terms offered by the British Government, through the medium of Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary, who was then daily expected at Chusan."

Elepoo was determined not to be outdone in courtesy, and before our fleet entered the Yangtze river, he sent a very important and remarkable letter addressed to our commanders-in-chief, styling them, the "Honourable General and Admiral." He talked a great deal about good faith and sincerity, and thanked them for sending back the prisoners, and for the attention and kindness shown to the wounded. He proceeded to inform them, that he had in return sent back all *our* prisoners to Chapoo, who had been previously kept at Hang-chow-foo; but that, on their arrival there, it was found that the fleet had already sailed, in consequence of which they were obliged to be taken back. He further added, curiously enough for a high Chinese authority, when we consider what had hitherto been the tone of all their proclamations, "that he was de-

[1] At this time, the venerable and high-minded Elepoo, who was Lieutenant General of Chapoo, was partially restored to favour by the Emperor after being disgraced and deprived of the government of the two Keang provinces which he formerly held. This is the same officer who, when he was sent down as Imperial Commissioner to the province of Chekeang, for the purpose of "*arranging* affairs with the barbarians," nobly gave up all our prisoners, including Captain Anstruther, Lieutenant Douglas, and Mrs. Noble; but was disgraced and punished by the Emperor.

sirous to negociate and make arrangements, in order to protect *the lives of the people of both countries.*"

Neither the prisoners nor the letter were, however, received for some time afterwards; for, on finding that none of our ships were left at Chapoo to receive them, they were taken back to Hang-chow-foo, at the end of three or four days, where they were now extremely well treated. By Elepoo's orders *thirty dollars were afterwards paid to every white man, and fifteen dollars to every native of India, or, as they called them, to every "black man;"* thereby marking their sense of the distinction between them. Altogether there were sixteen prisoners restored by the Chinese, two of whom belonged to the Nemesis, one being an English seaman, the other a negro lad, who had been a slave at Macao, but had escaped and came on board the Nemesis, where he turned out a very smart useful lad. They had been kidnapped at Chusan, and thence carried over to the mainland.

After having been brought back to Hang-chow-foo from Chapoo, the prisoners remained there five days, and were well fed and taken care of. They were then put into sedan chairs, and carried through the whole Chinese army encamped to the southward of that city. The camp appeared to be of immense extent, and full of soldiers, who crowded round the sedan chairs with eager curiosity, but without attempting to offer any violence. They appeared particularly amused at the appearance of the black men. It was remarked, that about one in ten of the soldiers was armed with a matchlock, the rest having only spears, swords, and bows and arrows,

the latter of which they seemed to be most proud of. The danger they ran of having their clothes set on fire by the match, particularly when wounded, or by the ignition of the powder, always made them more or less afraid of arming themselves with the matchlock.

After travelling for several days, partly in sedans and partly along canals, during which they passed a large town called Chow-king, apparently as large as the capital itself, the prisoners arrived at Yuyow, on the 11th of June, whence they were conveyed to Ningpo, and after a very short halt proceeded down the river to Chinhai, were they were most joyfully received on board H. M. brig Pelican, by Captain Napier.

Communications subsequently took place, between Elepoo and our military and naval commanders-in-chief. In one of these Elepoo says, that he is surprised to learn that the fleet of our "*honourable country* had sailed up the Woosung river, firing guns and stirring up a quarrel; and then expresses his regret that the war had already lasted so long, and that many lives had been lost, and unspeakable misery produced. Is it not far better to enjoy the blessings of peace, than to fight for successive years, and to fill the land with the bodies of the slain?" This, however, was merely an attempt to lull the activity of our commanders, and to delay their measures by pretence of negociation.

The reply of Sir Hugh Gough and Sir William Parker was characteristic; namely, "that they were thankful to Elepoo for having sent back the British subjects who were prisoners, begged to assure him that they gladly recognised in this act the good feeling

which should always subsist between civilized nations. In respect to the other letter, they added that with the utmost desire to lessen the calamities of war, it was their duty to proceed with hostilities, until they were assured that a functionary *duly authorized* by his Imperial Majesty should be prepared to negociate a peace, and to meet those just demands which had been repeatedly submitted to his Imperial Majesty. With every respect for his exalted position and acknowledged probity, the high British officers must remind his Excellency that they have not yet been apprised that he is *authorized to treat*, on the conditions promulgated by the British Government."

The high tone of these letters must have rather surprised both the veteran Elepoo and the Imperial Cabinet. They had been so long accustomed to communicate with foreigners only through inferior agents, that they could hardly bring themselves on a sudden to adopt the practice of conducting negociations upon a footing of perfect equality. The ingenious expedient was therefore resorted to, of sending to Canton, to order up some of the Hong merchants to act as mediators. The aged Howqua excused himself on account of his infirmities, but sent his only surviving son in his place, accompanied by Samqua, another Hong merchant of repute, and two linguists.

The journey from Canton to the province of Chekeang, or rather to that part of it in which their services might be required, Hang-chow-foo, or Soo-chow-foo, a distance of upwards of six hundred geographical miles, was no pleasing task in the middle of

summer, particularly in a country where the only mode of travelling is in sedan chairs. However, they were compelled to go; but were as speedily sent back again, without having been permitted to hold any communication whatever with any of our high officers. Indeed, Sir Henry Pottinger had long before so positively refused to receive both the Hong merchants and the Prefect of Canton, that it is surprising how any further expectation could have been formed that their services would be required.

While speaking of the Hong merchants, it is worth mentioning that about this time notice was sent by the aged Howqua to the foreign residents at Canton, that there was reason to believe that some of the wells had been poisoned, and that there were venders of poisoned provisions about the streets. Whether the report was true or not, the diabolical purpose was thus frustrated, and no bad results followed.

We must now return to the operations of our forces, subsequently to the capture of Chapoo. Fortunately, the health of the troops had been good, during their ten days' stay on shore, so that nearly the whole force was in a condition to take part in the projected operations in the Yangtze river. Lieutenant-Colonel Tomlinson, whose death was so much lamented by all his brother officers, was buried at sea, soon after Chapoo was taken, being carried out in the Phlegethon, as it was feared that, if a grave were dug for him on shore, his remains might be taken up by the Chinese, and a great boast made of their having killed one of the high English officers.

On the 27th May, a great part of the troops were embarked on board the different transports, and the remainder on the following morning, when the whole fleet got under weigh. On the 29th, they anchored in a safe and extensive sound, which had been discovered by Captains Kellett and Collinson, at the Rugged Islands, about forty miles to the eastward of Chapoo. Some days were spent at this anchorage, in order that a proper channel into the Yangtze river for large vessels might be carefully examined. During this interval, the Admiral took an opportunity of revisiting Chusan, in the H. C. steamer Pluto, which had just arrived from England, together with the small iron steamer Ariadne, from Bombay.

On the 5th June, the whole fleet stood up towards the entrance of the river, but their progress was much delayed by the great strength of the tides, and also by fogs, so that they did not reach the appointed rendezvous off the Amherst rocks, (a little to the eastward of the mouth of the river) until the 8th, having always been obliged to anchor at night.

A further delay now occurred, while the Modeste, with the Nemesis and Pluto steamers, were detached to intercept the communications up the river, and to reconnoitre the defences of Woosung. A large fleet of trading junks was soon espied near the latter place, and the Nemesis was ordered to give chase, and bring them to. She very soon got ahead of them and cut them off, obliging them to anchor immediately. Some, however, persisted in holding their course, until several shots had been fired across their bows. The junkmen

appeared terribly frightened, although Mr. Gutzlaff, who was on board the Nemesis, assured them that they would receive no injury, and would be allowed to depart again, as soon as their cargoes had been examined. One, however, still refused to come to anchor, until two shots had been sent completely through his vessel. On boarding her, the cause of the obstinacy was soon discovered. There were a number of Chinese or Tartar ladies on board, one of whom, a handsome young person, was sitting with a child in her arms, which she pressed closely to her bosom, in the most forlorn attitude, near the stern of the vessel. Fortunately no one on board had been wounded by the shot; but among other things which attracted attention were a number of coffins, which it was at first conjectured might be filled with valuable property of various kinds, which they were thus endeavouring to carry off without discovery. One of them was soon opened, when it was found to contain literally what it was intended for; and it was hence supposed that these unhappy people might have escaped from Chapoo, and carried their dead with them.

A great number of junks were found laden with the most beautiful fish, very carefully packed in ice, probably destined for Nankin, and for places along the imperial canal; but it is remarkable that none of these cargoes were fallen in with afterwards higher up the river; which tended to prove that there were innumerable canals by which they could convey their produce into the interior, without proceeding up the main river beyond a certain point, thereby avoiding the

delays occasioned by the currents, and the dangers of the navigation. This excellent opportunity of getting well supplied with fish and ice was not allowed to pass unheeded, but none of the junks were detained beyond a few hours. *One* junk, however, was always kept back, until another made its appearance; but, as it was impossible for strangers to distinguish at a distance the *kind* of junks which were loaded with such a welcome cargo, every captain was made to understand that he would have to supply fish and ice for the use of the steamer, until he could point out another junk coming up the river with a similar cargo, which was then to take his place, and he was to be liberated. In this way, one continued to succeed the other. This hint was quite sufficient to put the fellows in excellent humour. It was curious to observe what a sharp look-out they kept, frequently climbing up to the mast-head to see if their longed-for substitute was approaching. The one who last arrived soon reconciled himself to this fate very good-naturedly, when informed by his predecessor that no great harm would be done to him. They all, however, seemed very glad to get away, the moment permission was given to them, and refused all kind of payment when offered. Fresh fish of the best quality, and plenty of ice to cool the wine and beer, were unexpected luxuries.

At Woosung, Captain Watson, with the Modeste, which was anchored just out of range of the batteries, was occupied for several days in sounding the channel, and was assisted in this duty by the Pluto, under Lieutenant Tudor. They were ordered to reconnoitre the

mouth of the Woosung river, (which empties itself into the Yangtze about twenty-five miles up its southern branch) preparatory to the grand attack upon the batteries.

The night of the 11th of June was particularly dark and rainy, and the opportunity appeared singularly favourable for making a close reconnoissance of the batteries. The Modeste lay some way off shore, and the tide was running so strong that it was impossible for Captain Hall, who had anchored the Nemesis much nearer in, to communicate with his senior officer, Captain Watson, concerning the plan which he proposed for reconnoitring the batteries. About two hours before midnight, the cutter of the Nemesis was ordered away, manned and armed, to make a close examination of the batteries, and of the channel leading into the Woosung river, which the former were principally designed to protect.

Having carefully sounded the channel, Captain Hall boldly pushed in as quietly as possible, towards the front of the batteries; and being favoured by the boisterous weather, he landed on the beach without being discovered. He could now distinguish the Chinese sentry quite near him; and on looking through one of the embrasures, he could see one of the military mandarins on duty, going his rounds along the battery, attended by two armed soldiers, one of whom carried a large paper lantern before him, which threw a strong light in his face, and prevented him of course from seeing objects, even at a very short distance from him. It was evident, therefore, that the Chinese were upon the alert;

and it would have been very easy, with the help of the boat's crew, to have made prisoners both of the mandarin and the two soldiers, before the alarm could have been given.

After three hours' examination, and a heavy pull against the rapid current which prevails there, the boat of the Nemesis got back to the vessel; and on the following day she rejoined the Admiral off the Amherst rocks. It was about this time that the little Ariadne steamer, having been sent to ascertain the exact position of a rock lying off the mouth of the Yangtze, unfortunately ran directly upon it, and was bilged. A sail was immediately passed under her bottom, to cover the leak, and she was towed by the Sesostris into Chusan harbour, where, owing to some unforeseen accident, she afterwards went down in deep water, and all attempts to get her up again failed.

On the 13th, Sir William Parker in the Cornwallis, accompanied by the Blonde, Columbine, Jupiter troopship, and the Phlegethon, Tenasserim, and Medusa, steamers, together with twelve transports, got under weigh from the anchorage off Amherst rocks, and succeeded in reaching the mouth of the Woosung river, without any accident whatever. The Clio, Bentinck (since called Plover), Starling, and two transports, had been stationed as beacon-vessels, to mark the proper channel; which however was so shallow, that for a part of the distance there was little more water (only a few feet,) than the actual draught of the Cornwallis.

On the following day, the Admiral and the General proceeded in the Medusa steamer, the smallest which

was under his command since the loss of the Ariadne, and jocularly christened the Pilot Fish, to make a close reconnoissance of the whole line of defences extending along both sides of the Woosung river.

It is here necessary to bear in mind the relative position of the Woosung river in respect to the Yangtze, in order to avoid confusion in reading the account of the operations. The former empties itself into the latter on its right bank, and the village or small town of Woosung, which contains nearly five hundred houses, stands at its mouth. This place was visited by Mr. Medhurst, during his missionary tour up the coast of China in 1835, and the people were there found to be remarkably civil and well disposed.

The breadth of the river at its entrance may be about a mile, but the channel for vessels of moderate burden is somewhat intricate, and scarcely more than three hundred yards wide. The course of the river runs nearly north and south, and, as it joins the great Yangtze, its banks gradually widen out, until they are soon lost in the banks of the larger river. The principal line of defence was situated along its western bank, running from the upper end of the village of Woosung for a distance of full three miles along the river's mouth, and curving gradually round towards the banks of Yangtze river.

The town of Paoushan is situated nearly two miles in the rear of the batteries at that end. This long line of embrasures mounted not less than one hundred and thirty-four guns; but they were generally a great deal too wide, and the battery was constructed of earth,

very much like the works already described at Chusan. Stakes were driven in along the front to protect it from the sudden landing of troops, and probably to secure the banks from the effects of inundations.

Just above the village of Woosung, and skirting it on its southern side, was a large creek or canal, communicating with the river, and protected by a strong semicircular stone battery regularly built, and mounting ten brass 24-pounder guns. From its position, it served to defend the river itself, for it commanded the whole reach, as well as the mouth of the creek.

On the eastern side of the river, opposite Woosung, stood a strong fort principally built of brick, nearly of a circular form, and from its elevation calculated to have a long range. It was flanked by a line of embankments, with embrasures not yet completed, but mounting altogether twenty-one guns. There were one hundred and seventy-five guns mounted for the defence of Woosung. But it was not the number of guns which constituted the strength of its defences. The choicest Tartar troops had been collected at this point, who were prepared to defend it obstinately. They worked their guns with great spirit, and kept up a better sustained fire than they had done on any previous occasion; and when their principal line of battery was turned by the movement of a body of seamen and marines upon their flank, they defended themselves with remarkable obstinacy and courage, and did not hesitate to measure the sword with the cutlass, or to cross the spear with the bayonet.

There was some difficulty in finding a spot where

troops could be disembarked with a view to turn the position, for the water shoaled to three feet, within two hundred yards of the banks, and the disembarkation could only be effected under cover of the guns of our ships. One spot was pointed out near the centre of the battery, between Woosung and Paoushan, but the practicability of it was at first doubtful. But this difficulty was afterwards set at rest by the landing of the marines and blue jackets under Captain Bourchier at that point. The only other alternative was to land the troops high up, towards the extremity of the line of works above Paoushan, and then occupy that town. There was every probability, however, that the engagement would be almost entirely confined to the naval branch of the expedition.

On the morning of the 16th, both the tide and the state of the weather being favourable, the Admiral determined that the attack should be made without further delay, and ordered that the ships should be towed into action by the steamers, so that they would be enabled to take up the precise positions allotted to them. There were five steamers ready for the service, besides the little Medusa, which was reserved to meet any unforeseen contingency. It was the first action in which the ships of war were *all* towed into their appointed stations. The little Algerine was the only exception, as she was directed to get in as near as possible, under sail. Even the North Star, Captain Sir E. Home, which only came in sight just as the action had already commenced, was towed in by the Tenasserim, which, after placing the Blonde in her proper position, was sent out on purpose to fetch her.

The Cornwallis and Blonde, being the two heaviest ships, were to take up their positions in front of the batteries, just below the village of Woosung, and the light squadron was then to pass them and proceed up the river to attack the village, and the battery at the mouth of the creek above it, and also the circular battery on the opposite or east side of the river. The light squadron consisted of the Modeste, Columbine, and Clio, towed respectively by the Nemesis, Phlegethon, and Pluto.

The channel had been buoyed off the previous night, and two junks had been moored so as to mark the entrance, on the eastern side of which there ran out a long sand bank. The Chinese, far from offering any opposition to the boats employed to lay down the buoys, encouraged them with a cheer of defiance. But the little Medusa steamer was immediately carried as close in shore as possible, assisted by several guard-boats, to prevent any attempt of the Chinese to remove the buoys before the ships proceeded to take up their stations.

At the dawn of day on the 16th all the ships of war got under weigh, and by six o'clock they were in tow of their respective steamers. In this instance, and indeed throughout all the operations in the north of China, under Sir William Parker, the steamers were always lashed *alongside* the vessels they had to tow, instead of going ahead. This plan was found to answer remarkably well in the intricate navigation of the Yangtze river, as the movements of both vessels were more easily managed. The Blonde, towed by the

Tenasserim, led in towards the batteries; the Cornwallis followed, bearing the Admiral's flag, and lashed alongside of the Sesostris. This post of honour was assigned to the Blonde, because, as soon as the light squadron had passed up the Woosung, she would have been nearer at hand to support them, if necessary.

The Blonde and Cornwallis received the fire of the Chinese, which was opened with great spirit, without returning a shot, until they had anchored by the stern in excellent positions. The light squadron then passed them, except the little Algerine, which could not follow the rest under sail, and therefore brought up a little astern of the Admiral's ship.

The Modeste, under Captain Watson, who commanded the light squadron, was towed by the Nemesis up the river in gallant style, boldly dashing in towards the creek above the village of Woosung, and receiving a severe and well-directed fire from the whole line of batteries, but more particularly from the battery of ten brass guns situated at the corner of the creek, the approach to which, as before described, it commanded. Both of these vessels suffered a good deal, in executing this bold manœuvre; and in order to shelter the men, they were all ordered to lie down at quarters, on board the Nemesis, until the Modeste had been placed in a good position. The fire of the Chinese was severe and well-directed.

Some way further up the river, fourteen war-junks were in sight, and also five large newly-built wheel-boats, each moved by *four wooden paddle-wheels*. These vessels also opened fire, but at such a distance

t their shot fell short. The Columbine, towed by Phlegethon, and the Clio by the Pluto, followed ir gallant leader up the river towards the creek.

n the mean time, the North Star was observed just ıing up towards the mouth of the river, and the Te-serim steamer, which had just cast off the Blonde, ı now sent out to tow her into action, and she was ɔed just ahead of the Blonde.

The Nemesis cast off the Modeste as soon as she had ried her up to the mouth of the creek, and within ıket-shot of the ten gun-battery, and then opened with her foremost gun upon the war-junks, and with after-gun upon the battery itself. The junks re-ned the fire as the Nemesis advanced towards them, the moment she came within range of grape and ister, the Chinese Commodore, or Admiral, set the mple of running away, which all the rest were glad ugh to follow. They now made for the shore the t way they could, each trying which could reach it quickest, but the wheel-boats had a decided advan-e, and were moved through the water at the rate of ut three and a half knots an hour. Grape and ister was now poured into them as fast as the guns ld be loaded. The confusion among the Chinese ors was great: some took to their boats or sampans, ers jumped overboard, and tried to swim ashore, and ɔw of these must have been drowned.

The wheel-boats were, as a matter of curiosity, the t boarded, and it was afterwards ascertained that y were each commanded by a mandarin of high rank; ch marks the importance they gave to them. These

wheel-junks were fitted with two paddle-wheels on either side, strongly constructed of wood. The shaft, which was also of wood, had a number of strong wooden cogs upon it, and was turned by means of a capstan, fitted also with cogs, and worked round by men. The machinery was all below, between decks, so that the men were under cover. They were all quite newly-built, and carried some two, some three, newly-cast brass guns, besides a number of large ginjals. A quantity of matchlocks, spears, swords, &c., were also found on board.

In pursuing two of the largest junks too close in shore, the Nemesis took the ground when the tide was falling. The Phlegethon came up at this time, and tried to tow her off, but without success, and she, therefore, stuck fast for some hours. But the boats were sent away manned and armed under Mr. Galbraith, with orders to capture and destroy the rest of the junks which were floating about the river, deserted by their crews. Other boats were sent to destroy those which had been run ashore, but it was seen from the mast-head that the Chinese were lying in wait to cut them off among the scattered trees and buildings by the river side; and they were, therefore, ordered not to go out of gun-shot from the steamer.

The Phlegethon, under Lieutenant M'Cleverty, took part in the destruction of the junks, and out of the whole fleet only two war-junks escaped. Three wheel-boats and one junk were afterwards towed down the river to the fleet, but the rest were set on fire and destroyed.

To return to the advanced squadron. As soon as the

Modeste was cast off from the Nemesis, sail was made, and she was carried alongside a wharf or small jetty within the creek, close to the village of Woosung. The ten gun-battery opposite kept up its fire upon her, but, under cover of a broadside, the Modeste was made fast to the jetty. In this position she soon silenced the fort with her larboard-guns and small arms, and received little damage from the fire of the enemy, because they could not depress their guns enough to bear upon her with effect, so close was she.

The pinnace was now sent ashore, manned and armed, to take possession of the fort, and there was some skirmishing with the rear guard of the Chinese who were retreating. Mr. Birch, with a party of seamen, was at the same time ordered to spike the guns; and at this moment the Columbine, followed by the Pluto steamer, came up, and poured in a well-directed fire upon the column of the retreating enemy.

During all this time, the Cornwallis, Blonde, and North Star were hotly engaged with the batteries, abreast of which they were anchored, and soon made the Chinese slacken their fire. Perceiving this, Captain Watson boldly determined to land, with the marines and small-arm men of the Modeste, Columbine, and Clio, within the creek, in the hope of being able to turn the enemy's flank next the village, and also cut off their retreat. A body of the Chinese were observed lying down under cover of the embankment, apparently in readiness to meet their enemy. Captain Watson now formed his men, and gallantly dashed on towards the Chinese, but had to cross a deep canal, over which there

were several small wooden bridges, in the rear of the works.

The Chinese received them with a heavy fire of matchlocks and ginjals, but gradually retreated as Captain Watson advanced, and fell back upon their main body, who now showed a most determined front, and deliberately planted their ginjals directly in the only path by which they could be approached. Captain Watson had already ten of his men wounded; and, finding his party getting a little straggled, he drew them outside of the line of embankment, in order to form them again. The Chinese now came boldly out, brandishing their spears in defiance; and threw a volley of hand grenades upon them, which fortunately went over their heads.

At this moment, Captain Bourchier, seeing Captain Watson's party hotly engaged with the Chinese, who were much their superiors in numbers, dashed on shore from the Blonde, directly in front of the battery; and at the same moment Captain Watson's party made a rush at the enemy, who stood their ground so firmly, that for the second time the spear and the bayonet were crossed, and no one who witnessed the obstinacy and determination with which the Chinese defended themselves could refuse them full credit for personal bravery. They were now driven back under cover of some houses, where they rallied.

By this time the marines and seamen of the Blonde and Cornwallis were landed nearly opposite those vessels, under Captain Bourchier, Captain Peter Richards, and Sir Everard Home, and joined Captain Watson.

Sir William Parker also landed; and, as soon as the men were all formed, they succeeded in driving the enemy out of the whole line of batteries. A small party from the Algerine, under Lieutenant Maitland, boldly landed before they could be well supported, and were a little cut up.

The Sesostris in the mean time had been closely engaged with the strong fort on the eastern side of the entrance of the river, where she took the ground in such a position that she was able to bring her guns to bear, so as soon to silence the enemy, when Captain Ormsby landed at the head of a body of small-arm men from the Sesostris and Tenasserim, and took possession of the fort.

The troops were not landed in time to take any part in the engagement, for most of the steamers had taken the ground, and it was not until past twelve o'clock that there were any means of putting the troops ashore. Sir Hugh Gough then landed just opposite the Cornwallis, and determined to advance immediately upon the town of Paoushan in the rear, towards which it was understood a large body of the Chinese had fled, together with the governor of the provinces. Major-General Schoedde was now ordered to move forward, so as to get in the rear of the town, in hopes of cutting off the enemy who might be retreating in that direction; while Sir Hugh Gough, with the rest of the force, reinforced by the naval brigade, moved along the river-batteries.

On reaching Paoushan, it was found already in the possession of Major-General Schoedde's brigade, which had entered it without opposition; the soldiers and a

great part of the inhabitants flying out of it in great consternation. The walls of the town were not found to be in very good repair, but they mounted about fifty guns, of which seventeen were brass. The main body of the Chinese were ascertained to have fled in the direction of Soochow-foo.

The number of killed and wounded, on the Chinese side, was less than might have been expected, probably not exceeding altogether a couple of hundred; but among them was the commander-in-chief of the Chinese troops. On our side, one officer (Lieutenant Hewitt, R. M.) and one seaman, were killed; and among the wounded were Mr. Purvis, midshipman of the Blonde; Mr. A. J. Smith, mate, and Mr. Roberts, master of the Sesostris; together with fifteen seamen, one corporal, and five royal marines, and one Bombay artilleryman, most of them severely, and several dangerously wounded.

Many large and well-made guns were captured, particularly some newly-cast brass guns, of great length. Some of the best and heaviest guns were mounted upon the ten-gun fort, at the point of the creek where the Modeste was so hotly engaged. But the greater part of the guns were of small calibre, and about one-half of the whole number captured were 6-pounders, or under. The largest were 24-pounders, and there were a good many varying from 10 to 18-pounders. About two hundred and fifty guns were captured altogether, including those taken at Paoushan; of these, forty-two were brass.

There was one very curious iron gun, of a peculiar shape, being very small at the muzzle, and very large from the middle to the breech. It was of Chinese cast-

ing, and had an inscription on it, which showed that it was upwards of three hundred years old. There was also another curious old gun, with the arms of Spain upon it. Besides the above, a number of large ginjals and matchlocks, together with military stores of all kinds, were discovered and destroyed; and to these must also be added the guns destroyed in the war-junks.[1]

The Chinese were not prepared to expect the complete defeat they sustained at Woosung. The great extent of their preparations for defence, the determined resistance they offered, and the improvements they had adopted in the form and casting of their guns, and in the construction of their junks, sufficiently indicate the importance which they attached to the defence of this position. Precisely in proportion to their previous ex-

[1] Names of Her Majesty's and the Honourable Company's vessels, and of their Commanders, engaged at Woosung, June 16th, 1843.

Cornwallis	72	Captain P. Richards.
Blonde	42	Captain F. Bourchier.
North Star	26	Captain Sir J. E. Horne, Bart.
Modeste	18	Commander R. B. Watson.
Columbine	16	Commander William H. Morshead.
Clio	16	Commander E. N. Troubridge.
Algerine	10	Lieutenant William Maitland.

HONOURABLE COMPANY'S STEAMERS.

Sesostris	Commander Ormsby, I.N.
Nemesis	Lieutenant W. H. Hall, R.N.
Phlegethon	Lieutenant J. J. M'Cleverty, R.N.
Pluto	Lieutenant John Tudor, R.N.
Tenasserim	Master commanding, P. Wall.
Medusa	Lieutenant H. Hewitt, I.N.

pectations were the disappointment and panic produced by their defeat.

Information was obtained, through Mr. Gutzlaff, that the Chinese were removing their property and families from the important commercial town of Shanghai, situated about fourteen miles up the Woosung river; from which place it was known that there was very extensive water-communication with some of the most important districts and cities of China.

No time was to be lost in taking advantage of the prevailing panic; and, accordingly, on the day after the capture of Woosung, the Nemesis and Medusa steamers were sent up, with Captain Kellett on board, for the purpose of sounding the channel, and to ascertain what defences the Chinese had constructed higher up. The deepest channel was found to run along the left bank for about two miles, and then to cross over towards the right bank, by keeping which on board there was water enough for a frigate at half-flood.

About seven miles up, they came in sight of two forts, one on either side of the river. One of these fired off all its guns at the two steamers, but the shot fell far short. Soon afterwards a blaze was seen to burst out in each of the forts, and, on inquiry, it was found that the Chinese had set the buildings on fire, and then abandoned the works. Being ordered not to proceed further than this point, the two steamers rejoined the Admiral, in order to report the result of the reconnoissance.

The same afternoon, the Modeste, Columbine, and Clio, towed as before by the Nemesis, Phlegethon, and

Pluto, were sent up the river, under the command of Captain Watson, with orders to place them near the two batteries, but out of their range, and then to land and destroy the guns, if the Chinese were found to have abandoned them.

On the morning of the 18th, these orders were skilfully executed; but the Clio unfortunately grounded, and, as the tide was falling, could not be towed off. Captain Watson landed with the marines and small-arm men of the Modeste and Columbine, and took possession of the forts which had been abandoned. In the larger fort on the right bank were found forty-one guns, eight of which were brass; and, in the opposite fort, fourteen guns, of which likewise eight were brass, or, more properly speaking, of copper. Many of these were found dismounted, and the carriages taken away. The tents and buildings had been already destroyed. Higher up the river eight war-junks were discovered, which were set on fire and destroyed, except one, in which the copper guns, captured in the forts, were put on board and sent down the river.

Reinforcements had now arrived to join both arms of the expedition, but were just too late to take part in the action at Woosung. H. M. S. Dido, Honourable Captain Keppell, arrived the very evening after the engagement; and, on the next day, the 2nd regiment Madras Native Infantry, and detachments of Artillery, with Sappers and Miners, also joined the forces under Sir Hugh Gough.

The 19th was the day fixed for the capture of Shanghai, for which purpose one column of our troops was

to march by land, under Lieutenant-Colonel Montgomerie, M.A., consisting of about one thousand men, including the 18th and 49th regiments, with detachments of the Madras horse artillery and the royal artillery, with sappers and miners. The rest of the troops were embarked in the Tenasserim, Nemesis, Phlegethon, and Pluto steamers, which took in tow respectively the North Star, Modeste, Columbine, and Clio. The marines of the squadron were also taken up in the little Medusa; and Sir William Parker and Sir Hugh Gough, with their staff, accompanied by Captains Bourchier, Richards, Keppel, and other officers, proceeded up the river in that vessel.

They passed the deserted batteries, and met with no opposition until they came within sight of the city, where a long, well-constructed battery, situated below the town on the same or the left bank of the river, opened fire on the North Star and the other vessels, as they approached, but at such a distance as to do no damage. A couple of broadsides from the North Star and Modeste, with a few shot from the Tenasserim and Nemesis, sufficed to drive the Chinese out of the works. Captain Bourchier, with the seamen and marines, immediately landed and took possession of the battery, upon which no less than forty-nine guns were found mounted, seventeen of which were of copper.

The steamers conveying the troops soon reached the city of Shanghai, where the 55th regiment was landed from the Nemesis, upon a small jetty, without the necessity of using boats; another instance of the great utility of flat-bottomed, iron steamers. The city had

been already taken possession of by the column under Colonel Montgomerie, without resistance, and many of the respectable inhabitants were hurrying off in great consternation, while the low rabble had, as usual, commenced their work of robbery and destruction the moment the authorities left the place.

Colonel Montgomerie's column had met with no opposition during its advance, and but little difficulty, except occasionally in crossing the guns over the narrow water-courses. They passed close in the rear of the fort which had opened on the ships, without seeing it; but, upon hearing the firing, they hastened on to the city, in the belief that the sound of the firing came from that direction. A large body of the Chinese, however, was observed in full retreat, and a few rockets were thrown among them to hasten their flight; but, owing to the many water-courses, and the swampy nature of the rice grounds, it was impossible to come to close quarters with them.

On reaching the north gate of the city, there appeared to be no preparations made for resistance, and the only two guns which could be seen mounted at the gateway looked harmless enough. In fact, there was no one at the gate; and two or three of our men, having contrived to get over the wall, soon opened the gate, and admitted the rest. It was now discovered that the place had been abandoned by the authorities the previous evening. The people generally showed no ill feeling towards the foreigners, but rather an inclination to conciliate their good offices.

The city, which, though wealthy, and of more agree-

able aspect than most other Chinese towns which had been visited, was not given up to plunder; indeed, Sir Hugh Gough used every means in his power to prevent the commission of any excesses whatever. Very little plunder, or, as it was called, "loot," was obtained, and was almost entirely limited to curiosities. There was no wanton aggression. Many of the houses were found deserted, and these were the only ones which suffered, except where downright robbery was committed by the gangs of Chinese plunderers.

Every effort was made to put a stop to these abominable proceedings; and some of the most respectable inhabitants were called upon to take charge of a few of the large deserted establishments, particularly the pawnbrokers' shops, which, in all Chinese towns, are establishments of enormous extent. This fact may, at first view, be taken to indicate great fluctuations in respect to wealth or poverty; but this is not the case. These immense warehouses are frequently made use of to deposit articles of value, such as furs and other costly things, which are by this means well preserved and taken care of, until required for use; and, in the interim, the owners have the use of a portion of the value of the articles.

As soon as the city was taken possession of, and guards placed at the gates, the Columbine and Medusa were sent a little way up the river, to endeavour to check the depopulation of the city; for the inhabitants at that time were hastening away in crowds, so that the river was actually covered with boats of all descriptions, laden with furniture and goods. The Nemesis was also

sent up in search of war-junks, and to reconnoitre the country. No further hostile preparations however were discovered. Quiet was maintained within the city, and the vessels of war and steamers were all anchored directly opposite the town.

The vast number of large trading-junks which were lying there surprised every one. Many of these were laden with valuable cargoes; both banks of the river were completely lined with them; and there were also numerous large stone warehouses, filled with merchandize, some of which contained large quantities of sugar, salt, and provisions; there were also extensive timber-yards, and several large junks upon the stocks. The traffic in timber alone must be considerable, as there is none found in the neighbourhood adapted for ship-building; and the fine large spars which are required for the masts of junks are all brought from the north ward. The size of some of these spars may be judged of by the following measurements which were taken of the mainmast of one of the largest junks. It was eleven feet six inches in circumference a little above the deck, and one hundred and forty-one feet long; and the main-yard was one hundred and eleven feet in length. Very strong spars indeed are necessary, for they carry an enormous sail, without any shrouds or stays to support them.

Shanghai must be a place of immense commercial importance, not only as regards the internal traffic of the country, but also in respect to its foreign commerce, or at least its trade with the remoter parts of China, and even with Siam and Cochin China. It is

said to rank second only to Canton in commercial importance, particularly as the junks belonging to the southern provinces are prohibited from trading further north than this city, which therefore, in a certain degree, enjoys a monopoly. During Mr. Medhurst's visit to it, he reckoned that there were a thousand large junks in the river; and, on visiting it not long after it was taken, and when the trade was almost entirely stopped, I was myself much struck with the large size of the junks, which crowded both sides of the river.

Mr. Gutzlaff states that the imports of Shanghai already far exceed the exports; and, therefore, the difficulty again arises as to the mode of payment for the *additional* imports, which will soon find their way to Shanghai, since the opening of the port. The Americans look forward to getting a large supply of green tea at Shanghai in exchange for their cotton; green tea being in extensive use among them.

Shanghai has immense internal communication with all the central parts of China; it is situated in the richest and most productive part of the country, and the adjacent district has been called the Chinese Arcadia. The country is one fertile flat, occasionally subject to ravages by inundations, but generally drained and cultivated with great care. In some parts, the land, lying below the level of the rivers, is only maintained by strong and extensive embankments. The whole country is covered with hamlets and villages, and cotton is cultivated in great quantities.

The inhabitants of Shanghai have on all occasions shown a friendly disposition towards foreigners; and,

where the latter have been treated with rudeness, it has been solely by the orders of the mandarins, or at their instigation. Both Mr. Medhurst and Mr. Gutzlaff bear testimony to this fact, during their early visits; on which occasions, the people eagerly asked to receive books, of which several thousand copies were distributed. So important is the trade of this place, that the appointments in the public service are anxiously sought for, and the office of superintendent of customs is considered extremely lucrative.

Mr. Gutzlaff's testimony respecting this place is curious. Speaking of his visit, in 1832, he says, " the mandarins never directly interfered with my distributing books or conversing with the people; and, after issuing the severest edicts against us, they gave us *full permission to do what we liked.* They afterwards praised our conduct, but gave the people their paternal advice to have nothing to do with us. An imperial edict arrived, ordering us to be treated with *compassion*, but not to be supplied with rice or water. But they sent us quantities of live stock and flour, upon the sole condition that *we would not pay for them.*" It is, in fact, a curious thing to observe how easily the Chinese evade all regulations when their interest leads them to do so, and how readily they adopt every subterfuge.

I chanced to pay a visit to Shanghai the very day after the conclusion of peace was first made known in the town. We landed from our boat, at a little stone jetty in front of a deserted temple, before which there was an open paved court, or square, crowded with people. Nothing could surpass the good order which

prevailed; not a noise or groan was heard, or inconvenience of any kind experienced. Curiosity seemed to be the sole absorbing feeling, and one could hardly imagine that this was only the first week of peace, and that a hostile force had a short time before occupied the city. A Chinese crowd is the most orderly in the world; and, if we may judge of civilization by the quiet, sober, deferential bearing of a large body of people crowded together in narrow streets, certainly the Chinese deserve to bear the palm. A few soldiers were appointed to attend us through the town, who, instead of arms, carried a fan-case, tied round their waist, and a whip in their hand, with which they cleared the way with apparent good will, as we proceeded along the streets of the suburbs.

It was a curious sight to look down the long, narrow, paved street, on each side of which were crowds of shaved heads, each trying to raise itself an inch or two higher, to catch a glimpse of the passing strangers. The steps and doorways were crowded, and also a few of the windows; but most of the shops being shut, and the houses having generally only one story, there were none of those groups of figures, men, women, and children, rising in stages, one above the other, such as are seen in Europe from the bottom of the house to the top, when any thing remarkable is to be seen.

The greatest contrast, next to the immense collection of bald heads, and brown, roundish, ugly-looking features, consisted in the total absence of women, which, in any part of Europe, would have formed perhaps the most numerous and noisy part of the assemblage. Longingly

we looked on all sides, above and below, if perchance we could see a single female head, ornamented with its high-dressed jet-black hair, as a relief to the grave monotony of bald heads and serious faces. Here and there certainly we fancied we could just discover a female face, somewhat bolder than the rest, peering through the half-closed lattice-work, or half-open door; but the houses were so dark inside, that youth or age, beauty or ugliness, were alike lost upon us.

The colour of our hair and eyes seemed, next to the texture of our garments, to excite most attention. It was really laughable to see the people stare at the one, with half-open eyes and half-closed mouths, and cautiously, as if by accident, touching the other, in order to gratify their curiosity. There was no appearance whatever of rudeness or hostility; and, when the people were warned out of the way, or pushed aside, and reminded, by a gentle touch of the whip, that they must move out of the way, they did so in apparent good humour.

The inner town appeared to be only separated from the suburb by the actual wall, there being little difference in the houses on one side or the other. Two or three additional soldiers turned out of the guard-house as we passed, and joined our escort, certainly a shabby-looking set.

Much was said of the so-called tea-gardens of Shanghai; but, on reaching them, great was our astonishment to find that they ought rather to be called *tea-ponds*. According to our notions, land and grass, and plants and flowers, are supposed to belong to gardens—

There is a great abundance of game to be found in the neighbourhood of Shanghai, principally pheasants, and various kinds of wild fowl. But it greatly astonished the Chinese that any man should take *the trouble* to shoot birds, or find any amusement in the sport, when he could easily get people to shoot them for him upon very slight payment.

The sum agreed to be paid for the ransom of Shanghai was said to be three hundred thousand dollars, which was considered in the light of a contribution, similar to the ransom-money of Canton. Whatever the amount may have been, it was reckoned as part of the money stipulated for by the treaty of Nankin.

A quantity of guns, arms, and military stores, were, as usual, found in the arsenal within the city, and also large stores of rice. Sixty-eight guns (exclusive of those in the batteries below the town) were captured at Shanghai. Seventeen of these were of copper, newly-cast, and very heavy, and, consequently, valuable for the prize fund. In a battery facing the river, fifty-six guns were found, of which seventeen were brass 6-pounders. Altogether at Shanghai one hundred and seventy-one guns were captured. But, reckoning the whole number of guns taken in these operations, both at Woosung and at Shanghai, and in the various batteries on the river's banks, they will be found to amount to the amazing number of three hundred and sixty pieces, exclusive of those destroyed in the junks. Of these seventy-six were of copper, some of them of great length and weight of metal, but of proportionably small bore. They looked very well outside, but the casting

of many of them was defective, and not a few were made with a coating, or rather tube, of iron, about one and a half to two inches thick, along the bore, over which the copper was cast. At Shanghai also full nine tons of gunpowder were found, contained in three hundred and thirty tubs and jars. All the military stores were destroyed.

It was evident that great preparations had been made for the hoped-for defence of this important place; but, when the hour of trial came, and the news of the action at Woosung reached the city, the principal mandarins quitted it in despair, and all hope of defence was given up. It was even stated that a serious disturbance had taken place between the authorities and the people, in consequence of the heavy exactions of the former, under the pretence of preparing means for defending the city, which, after all, they chose to abandon without a struggle.

On the morning of the 20th, (the day after the city was taken) Captain Bourchier and Commander Kellett were ordered to proceed in the Phlegethon, accompanied by the Medusa, together with the barge of the Cornwallis, carrying a few marines, and also a boat from the Columbine, to reconnoitre the river for the distance of thirty miles above the town. Two small field-works of five guns each were discovered upon the right bank of the river, and a considerable body of soldiers were discovered at some distance in the rear. Lieutenant Wise was sent, with the boats and marines of the Cornwallis, for the purpose of destroying the works, which was effected without any resistance.

The report of what had been seen and done this day was considered so important and interesting, that Sir William Parker determined to continue the examination in person next day, still further up the river. About fifty marines and seamen were embarked in the Nemesis, and the Admiral hoisted his flag in her, accompanied by Captain Bourchier, Honourable Captain Keppel, Captain Lock, and other officers; and about noon on the 21st they proceeded up the river, followed by the Phlegethon and Medusa.

The river gradually became narrower, but still carried from four to six fathoms water, and appeared to have an immense number of canals and water-courses connected with it. Many of these led directly towards the towns and villages, some of which could be just seen at a distance, others not far from the banks. The country looked rich, and was carefully laid out in rice-grounds, and otherwise well cultivated. It was not so picturesque as about Ningpo, but there was all the appearance of a thriving and industrious population. A heavy storm of thunder and lightning came on in the afternoon, and the three steamers were brought to anchor for the night a little above the two forts destroyed the day before.

On the following morning they again pursued their course up the river, and soon found that it divided itself into two branches of equal size, one flowing down from the eastward, and the other coming from the westward. They followed the latter, which gradually took a more northerly direction, but the water shoaled as they proceeded, until at the distance of a few miles from where they started there was only one fathom; and, as the

Nemesis and Phlegethon could not safely ascend higher, the Admiral, with the other officers, removed on board the Medusa, which, being smaller, drew a foot to eighteen inches less water. But they were not able to go up more than eight or nine miles further; for they were stopped by the increasing shallowness of the water at the entrance of a large lagoon. It was ascertained, however, from some boatmen, who stated that they had left Soo-chow-foo only the previous day, that there was a direct communication by water with that city, which could not be a great many miles distant. It could not be doubted, therefore, that this important city was easily accessible to our forces, should it be thought advisable to advance upon it.

Several large boats were coming down the river, laden with coal, said to be brought from the neighbourhood of Soo-chow-foo, where iron also is believed to abound. Indeed, coal of very fair quality is found in many parts of this province, and the Nemesis was using it for steam purposes at that very time.

The whole distance ascended above Shanghai was about forty-five miles, and it was matter of regret that time could not be spared to explore the other, or eastern branch of the river. Several large pagodas were seen at a distance, one in particular to the northward, probably pointing out the neighbourhood of a large town.

The same evening the three iron-steamers returned to Shanghai, and anchored abreast of the town, where his Excellency Sir Henry Pottinger had just arrived from Hong Kong, having touched at Amoy and at Chusan on his way up. It was also announced that strong rein-

forcements had arrived at Chusan, and might be expected to join our forces in the Yangtze Kiang in a few days. The names of ships and regiments will be given together, in the order in which they moved up the river leading to Nankin. It will be sufficient here to mention, that no less than seventy-three vessels of war and transports set sail from Woosung together; besides which two others were left at that anchorage, in order to blockade the river leading to Shanghai. Several other vessels joined the expedition on its way up to Nankin, and afterwards. Great results were, therefore, now to be expected from this vast accession to our forces, and the hopes and spirits of both officers and men were high and buoyant. Sickness had not yet commenced its ravages; but many a heart that beat with the earnest thought of victory and the prospect of a glorious peace was doomed to cease its throbs, and sink ere long under the insidious blow of fever.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Remarks on the great river Yangtze Kiang — Stoppage of its trade — Hope of preventing the grain and tribute from passing up the Grand Canal—Reinforcements at Woosung—French ships of war—Remarks — Sir Henry Pottinger's important proclamation, addressed to the Chinese — The Emperor's proclamation concerning passing events— Reply to Sir Henry by Niew Kien, the viceroy of Nankin—Alarm at Pekin—Extent and importance of the rivers of China—Remarks on the Amoor, or Sagalin—Sail from Woosung in five divisions— Details — Aspect of the country —Kiang-Yin — Silver Island — And Golden Island—Falling greatness—Arrival at Chin-keang-foo—Its capture, 21st July, 1842—Tartar garrison—List of troops engaged— Plan of attack—Major General Schoedde's brigade scales the walls— Spirited resistance of the garrison—Lieutenant Cuddy's gallantry— Sir Hugh Gough and the third brigade prepare to storm the west gate —Unfortunate affair of the Blonde's boats—Warm reception—Part of them abandoned with the guns—Attention of the Chinese people to our wounded—Captain Peter Richards lands from the Cornwallis with Captain Watson of the Modeste—They scale the walls near the west gate—Spirited affair—Guard-house fired by a rocket—Tartars driven in—Outer gate blown in and forced by third brigade—Sharp encounter with the Tartars in the city — Self-destruction — Horrible scenes— Death of the Tartar general.

All intention of advancing upon the important cities of Hang-chow or Soo-chow-foo was now given up; large reinforcements had already arrived, and more were daily expected at Woosung; and it was resolved

to advance immediately upon Nankin, the ancient capital of the empire. The navigation of the Yangtze river was almost entirely unknown, only a small portion of it having been surveyed by Captain Bethune in the Conway. To the Chinese themselves the ascent of large ships or junks, as far as Nankin, appeared quite impracticable, principally owing to the amazing strength of the currents, and the numerous sand-banks which render its channel intricate.

Sir William Parker, however, felt so much confidence in his own resources, and in the aid of his numerous steam-vessels (several more of which had now arrived), that he did not hesitate to undertake the bold measure of conducting a fleet of between seventy and eighty sail, including two *line of battle ships,* besides the large troop-ships, into the very heart of the empire, more than two hundred miles from the sea. The whole commerce of this vast Yangtze river would thus be cut off; the Grand Canal itself would be blockaded, and it was hoped that we should be able to intercept the large fleet of grain-junks, which, at this time of the year, carry up their cargoes to the imperial metropolis, and not only furnish its inhabitants with food, but also the imperial treasury *with tribute.* It appeared, however, from official documents afterwards found at Chinkeang-foo, the Tartar stronghold at the mouth of the Grand Canal, that the authorities had anticipated the possibility of their communications being interrupted, and had, therefore, hastened on this annual supply, and had collected a body of militia to act as an escort for it. It was ascertained that these grain-junks had all crossed

the Yangtze river, from the southern to the northern branch of the canal, on the 26th of June, viz., a few days before our fleet left Woosung. So far then the imperial capital was safe from famine for some time to come.

On the 23d of June our troops returned from Shanghai to Woosung, principally on board the steamers; but two companies of the 18th, and the Rifles, together with the horses of the artillery, marched back by land, the guns being brought down on board the vessels. The Nemesis, having conveyed her detachments of troops to their respective transports, volunteered to go and fetch off the other division, and also the horses, which had marched overland, and had been waiting for several hours at Woosung without the means of getting on board their ships. The men were embarked direct from the river's bank, and the horses were hoisted in with slings, and it was late at night before they were put on board their respective transports; in doing which one boat was unfortunately capsized.

The Belleisle, with the whole of the 98th on board, had just arrived from England, together with the Rattlesnake troop-ship, and the Vixen, heavily-armed steamer, Commander H. Boyes; and the Proserpine, Captain J. J. Hough, R.N. They were preceded by the Endymion, 44 guns, Captain Honourable F. W. Grey; the Dido, 20, Honourable H. Keppel; Calliope, 26, Captain A. S. Kuper, C.B.; Childers, 16, Commander Halsted; and numerous transports, having on board the 2d and 6th regiments Madras Native Infantry; also the Bengal Volunteers, and reinforcements

of Artillery, together with the necessary proportion of camp followers.

Shortly afterwards two French ships of war also arrived at Woosung, for the purpose of watching our movements; the Erigone, 44, Captain Cecile, and the Favorite, 18, Captain Page. The latter attempted to follow the fleet up the river, and the Admiral was politely requested to allow the use of one of his steamers to assist her in getting up; but this, of course, could not be complied with, as our steamers were all indispensable, to enable the numerous fleet of transports to stem the current, and to tow them off whenever they chanced to get on shore.

But the French had, in reality, no grounds for coming into the river at all; *they* were not at war with the Chinese, nor had they ever asked or received permission from the Chinese government to enter their inner waters. In fact, the moving a French ship-of-war up the Yangtze river was as clearly an unfriendly proceeding towards the Chinese as the attempt to pass through the Bogue would have been. Moreover, there was no French commerce to protect.

On the other hand, the Americans, whose trade with China is second only to that of Great Britain, and who boasted of a large vessel from Boston trading at that very moment at Chusan, did not think it necessary to send any vessel of war into the Yangtze river; not only because it would have been an evident encroachment upon the rights of the Chinese, but also because they felt assured that any extension of the commercial relations of China with foreigners would, of necessity, be

equally beneficial *to all*, without any especial reference to the advantage of *one in particular*.

Before our forces left Shanghai, the same mandarin who had before frequently presented himself at head-quarters[1] again made his appearance as the bearer of a communication from the high authorities to Sir Henry Pottinger. But, as no document was shown by which any individual could prove his having received full authority from the Emperor to treat for peace, no attention whatever was paid to these very equivocal overtures. At the same time, however, Sir Henry Pottinger published a very important and interesting proclamation, addressed to the Chinese people, and adopting something of the tone of oriental language. It was, of course, published in Chinese. The opening sentences form a sort of quaint imitation of the celestial style, with the object, probably, of fixing the attention of the Chinese at the outset. For instance: "Under the canopy of heaven, and within the circumference of the earth, many are the different countries: of the multitude of these, not one is there that is not ruled by the Supreme Heavenly Father, nor are there any that are not brethren of one family. Being then of one family, very plain is it that they should hold friendly and brotherly intercourse together, and not boast themselves one above the other." After this exordium, it proceeds to lay open the grievances of the English, the extortions and double dealings of the local authorities at Canton, gradually increasing year after year; and then recapi-

[1] He was jocularly christened Corporal White.

tulates the proceedings adopted by the English, their visit to the Peiho, the conferences and stipulations agreed to by Keshen, and rejected by the Imperial Cabinet, the treacherous attack of the Chinese, and other matters already fully explained. It then refers to the cruelties practised upon our countrymen when taken prisoners, either by being kidnapped, or in cases where they were shipwrecked. It further reminds the people that in ancient times foreigners were permitted to trade at various ports in China, to the manifest advantage of all parties, and that it was only by false statements and local intrigue that the Emperor was at length induced to confine the foreign trade solely to Canton, and to establish the monopoly of the thirteen Hongs. Finally, it is declared that hostilities will continue to be carried on, until some high officer shall be appointed by the Emperor, with full powers to negociate and conclude arrangements, of which the three following points were to be the basis: Compensation for losses and expenses; a friendly and becoming intercourse, on terms of *equality*, between officers of the two countries; and the cession of *insular territory* for commerce, and for the residence of merchants, and as a security and *guarantee* against future renewal of offensive acts.

This proclamation was issued the day before the fleet set sail from Woosung for Nankin. It is a curious coincidence that, a few days before this, an edict, or proclamation, was issued by the Emperor, in which *he also* recapitulated the leading events of the war, and tried to make it appear that the whole difficulties had arisen solely from the crusade which his Majesty had

directed to be carried on against the "Opium poison." He blames Commissioner Lin for his bad management; and with regard to the six million dollars ransom for Canton, His Celestial Majesty declares that it was a very small matter, and that he did not grudge it at all. But when the rebellious foreigners left Canton, and then advanced to recapture Chusan, and to take Ningpo and other cities, then says his Majesty, with unaffected bitterness of spirit, "I severely blame *myself*, and hate *myself*, for being unequal to my duties; I cannot rescue my subjects; and repose by day or night is difficult for me." At the same time, he is slow to believe that the strength of the barbarian ships is really so great as represented, and strongly hints that his people are cowards; and while, on the one hand, he promises rewards to the valiant, he orders that those who run away shall be instantly executed without mercy. Carefully losing sight of every other grievance or source of difficulties, his Majesty reiterates his prohibition against opium, and urges the most strenuous exertions to sweep the worthless barbarians clean away into the depths of the wide ocean.

In fact, it now became very manifest that the Emperor was already seriously alarmed; and, although his spirit breathed a bitter hostility, it could not be doubted that his Majesty ardently longed for peace. The overtures, however, which had been so frequently made were of such an equivocal nature, that, as Sir Henry Pottinger well observed, it was impossible to place any reliance upon them.

Sir Henry's proclamation soon afterwards called forth

a reply from Niew-Kien, the Viceroy of the two Kiang Provinces, to which the seat of war was now removed. It was one of those curious little essays in which the Chinese delight, made up of a few common-place truisms dressed in the peculiar phraseology of the East. He cunningly recommends the Plenipotentiary to draw up a full statement of all *grievances*, to be transmitted through him (the Viceroy) to the Emperor, which would of course bear upon its very face the appearance of *asking* for *favours*, instead of dictating *terms*. He further reminds his Excellency, that although the Chinese have suffered much, still the English must have lost many brave men also, and by coming from so great a distance must have likewise incurred great expense; that it would be much better for *both parties* to put an end to the war at once, and vows the most perfect sincerity before all the gods. At the same time, he confesses his great alarm at seeing all the people fly from their habitations, and the country given up to the plundering of the *native* robbers. Indeed, Niew-Kien, in another report addressed to the Emperor, expressed the greatest possible apprehension lest the people should be frightened away, either by severe measures on his own part, or by the approach of the enemy, and thus the whole country be given up to the excesses of the lawless native plunderers, who would take the opportunity to rob, and commit all kinds of mischief.

The Chinese appear to have rested all their hopes for the defence of the Yangtze river, and the approaches to Nankin, entirely upon the strength of their works at Woosung, and had consequently made little or no

preparations for resistance higher up. It had indeed been recommended by one of the Tartar generals that a portion of the river below Nankin should be staked across, and junks laden with stones sunk to impede the navigation; and likewise that fire-vessels should be prepared. But this advice was overruled by Niew-Kien, the Viceroy, upon the ground of its inutility; and it was urged that the extreme rapidity of the current, and the sunken rocks and sands in parts most difficult of navigation, would be the best defences, and that any attempts to stake the river would not only be expensive and useless, but would greatly alarm the people. Fire-rafts were only ordered to be got ready, when there was no time whatever even to commence them, the enemy being already close to the city of Chin-Keang-foo.

From documents which subsequently fell into our possession, it was also ascertained that the apprehension of our advance upon Pekin by way of the river Peiho was so great, that a body of troops already ordered to march to Soo-Chow-foo were recalled, and directed to proceed immediately to Tientsin, in order to defend the approaches to the metropolis.

During the latter part of June, the weather was very squally and unsettled, and therefore not very well adapted for the advance of a fleet of more than seventy sail, up a river, the navigation of which was almost entirely unknown. The channels were now buoyed off, and beacon-vessels were also placed at one or two of the most important parts; and Commanders Kellett and Collinson, accompanied by the masters of the ships of war, were sent in advance on the 29th to sound, and

to make preparations for the passage of the fleet, and particularly for the purpose of surveying the river above the point where Captain Bethune's researches terminated.

The distance of Nankin from Woosung is about one hundred and seventy miles, and a very accurate survey was ultimately completed of this beautiful river, as far as that ancient capital. Even there the river is very broad and the channel deep, so that the Cornwallis was able to lie within one thousand yards of the walls of the city. It is perhaps to be regretted that the river was not examined for some distance above the city; for it could not be doubted that, with the assistance of steamers, even large ships would be able to ascend several hundred miles further. But the conclusion of the peace followed so soon after the arrival of our forces before the ancient capital, that there was no opportunity of continuing our discoveries further into the interior, without compromising our character for sincerity, while the negotiations were in progress. It could not have failed however, had circumstances permitted, of furnishing much interesting information respecting the interior of this extraordinary country.

There are few rivers in the world to be compared with the Yangtze, in point of extent, and the richness of the provinces through which it flows. Supposed to take its rise at a distance of more than three thousand miles from the sea, among the furthest mountains of Thibet, it traverses the whole empire of China from west to east, turning a little to the northward, and is believed to be navigable through the whole of these valuable provinces.

The extent and importance of the numerous rivers which traverse this vast empire cannot but strike every one with astonishment. Most of them naturally take their course from west to east, from the mountains towards the sea; but there is one important exception to this rule. The river Amoor, or Sagalin, takes its rise from numerous branches along the Kinkow Mountains, not far from Kiachta and Maimaichin, the two places at which trade is carried on with Russia, and, after taking a tortuous course to the northward, it receives a very large branch, called the Schilka, which rises *within* the Russian frontier in the Baikal Mountains, and at length, after traversing the whole of Mantchouria, empties itself into the Sea of Okotsk, not far from the Russian frontier. The caravans from Kiachta have to cross most of the numerous branches of this river, on their way to Pekin.

To return, however, to the Yangtze. The navigation of this river was found less difficult than might have been expected. There are, indeed, numerous sand-banks, some of which change their places, owing to the rapidity of the current; and at the upper part of the river, towards Chin-keang-foo, there is some danger from rocks; but the greatest obstacle to the navigation is the rapidity of the current, which, even when beyond the influence of the tide, runs down at the rate of three and a half to four miles an hour. It is not surprising that almost every ship of the squadron should have touched the ground; but, as the bottom was generally soft mud, no serious damage was sustained. The steamers were of course indispensable, and the assist-

ance of two or three of them together was in some instances requisite to haul the ships off.

One of the largest transports, the Marion, having the head-quarters and staff on board, was thrown upon the rocks by the force of the current, on the way *down* from Nankin, and would certainly have been lost, but for the aid rendered by two steamers, the Nemesis and the Memnon, and the valuable experience already gained by the former in the Chinese rivers.

However difficult or troublesome the ascent of the river proved to be, the descent was likely to be much more so. The buoys previously laid down were taken up by the Chinese; the transports were hurried down as quickly as possible, on account of the sickness which universally prevailed; their crews were weak, and they found their way down the best way they could; and it is not a little creditable to the merchant marine of this country, that they succeeded in getting back to Woosung without any serious accident.

Sir William Parker's arrangements for the merchant transports were perfect; their orders were definite, and were generally obeyed with alacrity; boats were always in readiness, and signals carefully watched. Probably, if it were required to point out any one circumstance which redounded more than another to the honour of the British service, it would be that of having carried a fleet of nearly eighty sail up to the walls of the city of Nankin and brought it safely back again.

At the beginning of July, the weather became very favourable for the ascent of the river, and the Phlegethon, having returned with the intelligence that a clear

and deep channel had been found as far as Golden Island, close to the entrance of the Grand Canal, and that buoys had been laid down to facilitate the navigation, orders were given that the fleet should be in readiness to get under weigh on the morning of the 6th. It was formed into five divisions, each consisting of eight to twelve transports, conducted by a ship-of-war, and under the orders of her captain; and to each division also a steamer was attached, to render assistance when required.

In addition to the steamers so employed, the Phlegethon, Medusa, and Pluto, were in attendance, principally upon the advanced squadron, and in readiness to assist any other ship which stood in need of it. The Nemesis and Proserpine also accompanied the fleet, the former being employed to lead and give the soundings by signal flags. Thus there were not less than ten steamers attached to the squadron when it set sail from Woosung, and they were afterwards joined, up the river (but not until hostilities had ceased) by two other powerful steamers, the Driver and the Memnon.

A list of all her Majesty's ships of war and steam vessels, together with those belonging to the East India Company, which were present in the Chinese waters at the conclusion of the peace, will be given in its proper place. The following was the order of sailing of the squadron on leaving Woosung, each division being about two or three miles in advance of the next one. The North Star, Captain Sir E. Home, Bart., was left at Woosung to blockade that river, with orders to detain all merchant junks which might attempt to pass up

the Yangtze, or into the Woosung, laden with provisions.

It was a curious sight afterwards, to look at the numerous fleet of junks, some of them of large size, which were collected at that anchorage, and for some time it was no easy matter for the North Star to prevent them from attempting to make their escape. But when a round shot or two had been sent through some of the most refractory, and a few of the captains had been brought on board the North Star and strictly warned, they all became "very submissively obedient," and patiently awaited the permission to depart, which was not accorded to them until the peace had been proclaimed.

The advanced squadron consisted of the—

Starling	6	Commander Kellett,	Surveying vessels.
Plover	6	Commander Collinson,	
Modeste	18	Commander R. B. Watson.	
Clio	16	Commander T. Troubridge.	
Columbine	16	Commander Morshead.	
Childers	16	Commander Halsted.	
H.C. Steamer Phlegethon		Lieutenant M'Cleverty, R.N.	
H.C. Steamer Pluto		Lieutenant Tudor, I.N.	
H.C. Steamer Medusa		Lieutenant Hewitt, R.N.	
H.C. Steamer Nemesis		Lieutenant W. H. Hall, R.N.	
H.C. Steamer Proserpine		Commander J. J. Hough, R.N.	

H.M.S. Cornwallis ..... 72 Captain Richards, Flag-ship of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, G.C.B.

FIRST DIVISION.

H.M.S. Calliope ..... 26 Captain A. S. Kuper, C.B.

H.M. Armed Steamer Vixen ..... Commander H. Boyes.

Marion Transport, with Lieutenant-General Sir H. Gough and general Staff.

Seven Transports, with Sappers and Miners, Followers, &c.

SECOND DIVISION.

H.M.S. Blonde ..... 42 Captain T. Bourchier, C.B.
H.C. Steamer Auckland ..... Commander Ethersey, I.N.
Ten Transports, conveying the Artillery Brigade and horses, &c.

THIRD DIVISION.

H.M. Troop Ship Belleisle, Captain T. Kingcomb, having on board Major-General Lord Saltoun, and H.M. 98th regiment.
H.M. Troop-ship Jupiter, Master Commanding, G. Hoffmeister, with H.M. 26th regiment.
Nine Transports, conveying Bengal Volunteers, and flank companies 41st M.N.I.

FOURTH DIVISION.

H.M.S. Endymion ..... 44 Captain Honourable F.W. Grey.
H.C. Steamer Sesostris ..... Commander H.A. Ormsby, I.N.
Thirteen Transports, conveying H.M. 55th regiment, with the 2nd and 6th regiments M.N.I., and the Madras Rifle Company.

FIFTH DIVISION.

H.M.S. Dido ..... 20 Captain Hon. H. Keppel.
H.C. Steamer Tenasserim ..... Master Commanding, P. Wall.
H.M. Troop-ship, Apollo ..... Commander Frederick, with H.M. 49th regiment.
H.M. Troop-ship, Rattlesnake .. Master Commanding, James Sprent, with H.M. 18th regiment.
Eight Transports, conveying the remainder of the 18th and 49th regiments, together with the 14th M.N.I.

The Chinese had prepared no means of resisting the advance of our squadron up the river; and even the few guns which had previously been mounted on two small forts on the right bank of the river, adjoining the towns

of Foushan and Keang-yin, were withdrawn on the approach of our forces, in order to avert the injury which might have been done to those towns, had any show of resistance been offered.

The country along the lower part of the Yangtze is altogether alluvial, and intersected by innumerable canals and water-courses. In most parts it is highly cultivated, but in others less so than we were led to expect. On one occasion I walked for the distance of five or six miles into the interior, attended by crowds of the peasantry, who appeared to be a strong, hardy, well-disposed race, and offered no kind of violence or insult. They appeared to be solely influenced by curiosity, and a few of them brought us poultry for sale, but the greater part seemed afraid to have any dealings with us. The small cotton plant was cultivated very extensively, and at nearly every cottage-door an old woman was seated, either picking the cotton or spinning it into yarn. The hop plant was growing abundantly in a *wild state*, and was apparently not turned to any use.

The small town of Foushan, at the base of a partially fortified hill, and a conical mountain with a pagoda upon its summit, situated upon the opposite side of the river, form the first striking objects which meet the eye, and relieve the general monotony of the lower part of the river. Above this point the scenery becomes more interesting, and gradually assumes rather a mountainous character. But you are perhaps surprised not to find more numerous villages upon the river's banks, and a denser population crowded together upon its shores.

Compared with the neighbourhood of Ningpo, or Chapoo, you are inclined to be disappointed in the aspect of the country generally; you find it less carefully and economically cultivated, and perhaps one of your first hasty impressions would be to doubt whether the population of China can be so dense as the best received accounts lead us to suppose. When you consider the immense extent of country through which this magnificent river flows, and the alluvial nature of the great belt of land which runs along the sea-coast, you are prepared to expect that here, if any where, a great mass of people would be congregated, and that town would succeed town, and village follow village, along the whole course of this great artery.

About twenty-five miles above Foushan, stands the rather considerable town of Keang-yin, situated in a very picturesque valley, about a mile distant from the river side; but there is a small village close to the landing-place. The river suddenly becomes narrow at this spot, but soon again spreads out to nearly its former breadth. The town of Keang-yin is distinguished by a remarkable pagoda, to which, with great difficulty, we persuaded a venerable-looking priest to conduct us. He hesitated a long time before he could be induced to lead us into the town, which was surrounded by a very high, thick, parapetted wall, banked up with earth on the inside. No soldiers were to be seen, and many of the inhabitants began very hastily to shut up their shops the moment they saw us enter the streets.

The pagoda appeared to be the only striking object in the place, and from the peculiarity of its construction

was well worth seeing. It was built of red brick, in the usual octagonal form, gradually inclining upwards, but was so constructed *in the inside*, that each story slightly overhung the one below it, although the outside appeared quite regular. The building was partly in ruins, but looked as if it had never been perfectly finished. Not far from it was a well of clear, delicious water, some of which was brought to us in basins, with marks of good nature, as if the people intended to surprise us with a treat. We afterwards learned that good water is rarely found in the neighbourhood of the river, and that the inhabitants are in the habit of purifying it by dissolving in it a small portion of alum. It was also stated that fish caught in the river are considered unwholesome.

The distance from Keang-yin to Chin-keang-foo is about sixty-six miles by the river, but not much more than half that distance by land, the course of the former being very tortuous. The country gradually increases in interest, becoming more hilly and picturesque the higher you ascend.

At Seshan, which is about fifteen miles below Chin-keang-foo, some show of opposition was offered by two or three small batteries, mounting twenty guns, situated at the foot of a remarkable conical hill. They opened fire at first upon the Pluto and Nemesis steamers, which were at that time employed on the surveying service. The day afterwards they opened fire also upon the Modeste, which was sent forward to attack them. The garrison were, however, soon driven out, and could be seen throwing off their outer wadded jackets, to enable

them to escape with greater nimbleness. The guns, magazines, and barracks, were destroyed.

A little way below Chin-keang-foo, the channel is much narrowed by the island of Seung-shan, and the current is consequently extremely rapid, so that the utmost skill and care, aided by a strong breeze, are necessary to enable a vessel to stem the stream and overcome the strength of the eddies and whirlpools. Seung-shan, or Silver Island, is all rocky, but rendered picturesque by the trees which are planted in the hollows. It is devoted to religious purposes, being ornamented with temples, and it was formerly honoured by the visits of the Emperors, to whom it is said still to belong.

Nearly the same description will also apply to Kin-shan, or Golden Island, situated higher up the river, nearly opposite the mouth of the Grand Canal. It is distinguished by a pagoda which crowns its summit, and by its numerous yellow tiled temples. The decayed condition of some of the pavilions, and the remnants of former splendour which once decorated their walls, together with the imperial chair itself, ornamented with well carved dragons all over its back and sides, attest the importance which this island and the environs of the great southern capital possessed in times long past, and the low estate into which this interesting part of the country has fallen since Pekin became the metropolis of China, and the Imperial residence of its Conquerors.

On the 16th Sir William Parker and Sir Hugh Gough proceeded up the river in H. M. steamer Vixen, followed by the little Medusa, to reconnoitre the approaches to Chin-keang-foo. They passed up above the city without

any opposition, approaching very near the entrance of the Imperial Canal, which takes its course close under the city walls. No preparations for resistance were apparent—at least, there were no soldiers visible upon the city walls, and the inhabitants who came out in great numbers were evidently attracted only by curiosity. Hence the first impression was that no resistance would be offered, and the information obtained through the interpreters tended to encourage the same conclusion.

The walls of the city, which is situated on the right bank of the river, were, however, in good repair, and the distance from the river was not too great to enable the ships to bombard it, if requisite. But the general feeling was that the attack (if indeed any resistance at all were offered) was to be left entirely to the military arm of the expedition, the more particularly as the engagement at Woosung had been entirely monopolized by the navy, and an opportunity was desired by the army to achieve for itself similar honours. A second reconnoissance, made from the top of the pagoda on Golden Island, brought to view three encampments on the slope of the hills, a little to the south-west of the city, which rather tended to confirm the impression that the troops had moved out of the town.

The advanced squadron, under Captain Bourchier, had been sent a little higher up, to blockade the entrances of the Grand Canal, and the other water-communications by which the commerce of the interior is maintained. On the 19th, the Cornwallis was enabled to take up a position close off the city, near the southern entrance of the

Grand Canal; and on the 20th, the whole of the fleet had assembled in that neighbourhood.

The 21st of July was the grand day on which the important Tartar city of Chin-Keang-foo fell to the British arms, not without greater loss on our side than had been anticipated, but with results, the importance of which, as regards the ultimate object of compelling an honourable peace, cannot be too highly estimated.

It has been already stated that little or no resistance was expected in the town itself; but the ships might have easily thrown a few shells into it, to make the enemy show themselves, or have regularly bombarded the place, if necessary. It seems, however, to have been settled that it should be altogether a military affair; and, with the exception of some boats which were sent up the Canal, and a body of seamen who were landed and did gallant service under Captain Richards and Captain Watson, the naval branch of the expedition had little to do. From documents subsequently found within the city, it was ascertained that there were actually about two thousand four hundred fighting men within the walls, of whom one thousand two hundred were resident Tartar soldiers, and four hundred Tartars sent from a distant province. Very few guns were mounted, as the greater part of them had been carried down for the defence of Woosung.

Outside the walls there were three encampments, at some distance from the town, in which there was a force altogether of something less than three thousand men, with several guns, and a quantity of ginjals. As the adult Tartar population of every city are, in fact, sol-

diers by birth, it may be supposed that even those who do not belong to the regular service are always ready to take up arms in defence of their hearths; and in this way some of our men suffered, because they did not know from their external appearance which were the ordinary inhabitants, and which were the Tartars.

On our side, the whole force engaged at Chin-keang-foo, though very much larger than any hitherto brought into the field in China, did not amount to seven thousand men, including officers, non-commissioned officers, and rank and file. The exact numbers, according to the field-list, amounted to six thousand six hundred and sixty-four men, besides officers. They were divided into four brigades.

ARTILLERY BRIGADE.

Under Lieutenant-Colonel Montgomerie, C.B., Madras Artillery.
Captain Balfour, M.A., Brigade-Major.
Captain Greenwood, R.A., Commanding Royal Artillery.

	Officers.		Men.
European	26	do.	318
Native	6	do.	252
	32		570

FIRST BRIGADE.

Major-General Lord Saltoun, C.B.
Captain Cunningham, 3rd Buffs, A.D.C.
J. Hope Grant, 9th Lancers, Brigade Major.
26th Cameronians Lieutenant-Colonel Pratt.
98th Regiment... Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell.
Bengal Volunteers Lieutenant-Colonel Lloyd.
41st M.N.I. Flank companies, Major Campbell.

Total...83 officers. 2,235 other ranks.

SECOND BRIGADE.

Major-General Schoedde, 55th.
Captain C. B. Daubeney, 55th, Brigade-Major.
55th Regiment ... Major Warren.
6th M.N.I. ..... Lieutenant-Colonel Drever.
2nd M.N.I. ..... Lieutenant-Colonel Luard.
Rifles of 36th M.N.I. Captain Simpson.
Total...60 officers. 1,772 other ranks.

THIRD BRIGADE.

Major-General Bartley, 49th.
Captain W. P. K. Browne, 49th, Brigade-Major.
18th Royal Irish..... Major Cowper.
49th Regiment ..... Lieutenant-Colonel Stevens.
14th M.N.I. ..... Major Young.
Total...68 officers. 2,087 other ranks.

GENERAL STAFF.

Aides-de-Camp to the General Commanding-in-Chief:
Captain Whittingham, 26th regiment.
Lieutenant Gabbett, Madras Artillery.
Adjutant-General, Lieutenant-Colonel Mountain, 26th.
Assistant ditto, Captain R. Shirreff, 2nd M.N.I.
Deputy Assistant do. Lieutenant Heatly, 49th.
Deputy Quarter-Master-General, Major Gough.
Field Engineer, Captain Pears, M.E.
Commissary of Ordnance, Lieutenant Barrow.

On the evening of the 20th, all the arrangements were completed for the attack upon the city and upon the encampments beyond it, to take place on the following morning at daylight. It has been already stated, that it was not proposed that the ships should bombard the town; and the only vessel which fired into it was the Auckland steamer, which covered the land-

ing, and threw a few shot and shells into the city. But a body of seamen and marines of the squadron (as will presently be described) took an active share in the work of the day, under Captain Peter Richards and other officers; and Sir William Parker himself accompanied the General, and forced his way with him through the city gate.

The plan adopted by Sir Hugh Gough was to endeavour to cut off the large body of Chinese troops encamped upon the slope of the hills; for which purpose the first and third brigades, together with part of the artillery, were to be landed in the western suburbs of the city, opposite Golden Island, near where a branch of the Grand Canal runs close under the city walls; Lord Saltoun with the first brigade was to attack the encampments; while Sir Hugh Gough in person, with the third brigade and the rest of the artillery, proposed to operate against the west gate, and the western face of the walls.

The second brigade, under Major-General Schoedde, was to land under a bluff point somewhat to the northward of the city, where there were two small hills which commanded the walls on that side. The object was to create a diversion, and draw the attention of the enemy towards that side, while the real attack was to be made upon the western gate, which was to be blown in by powder-bags. General Schoedde was directed to use his own discretion, as to turning *his diversion into a real attack*, should he think proper to do so.

There was found to be more difficulty in landing the troops than had been expected, many of the transports

lying at a considerable distance, and the great strength of the current rendering the operation troublesome and protracted. Had the Chinese possessed sufficient force and skilful officers to lead them, they might have opposed the landing, and inflicted severe loss upon our troops, before a sufficient body of men could have been concentrated to drive them back, and hold good their ground. However, the first brigade, under Lord Saltoun, succeeded in driving the enemy completely over the hills, after receiving a distant and ineffectual fire as they advanced, but they met with a more determined resistance from a column of the enemy, who were in great danger of being cut off. Several casualties occurred on our side, in this encounter. Upon the walls of the town itself, few soldiers showed themselves, and the resistance which was soon experienced was not at all expected.

General Schoedde, with a portion of the second brigade, took possession of a joss-house, or temple, upon the hill overlooking the northern and eastern face of the walls, near the river; and there awaited the landing of the rest of his brigade, being received by a spirited fire of guns, ginjals, and matchlocks, which was opened from the city walls; this was returned by a fire of rockets.

As soon as a sufficient force had been collected, the rifles, under Captain Simpson, descended from a small wooded hill which they occupied, and crept up close under the walls, keeping up a well sustained fire upon the Tartars. Major-General Schoedde now gave orders for escalading the wall, although, from its not having been part of the regular plan of attack, only three

scaling ladders were provided. The grenadier company of the 55th, with two companies of the 6th Madras Native Infantry, advanced to the escalade, under the command of Brevet-Major Maclean of the 55th. The first man who mounted the walls was Lieutenant Cuddy of the 55th, who was almost immediately wounded in the leg by a matchlock ball, but remained sitting upon the wall and assisting the others to get up with remarkable coolness.

The 55th and the 6th Madras Native Infantry vied with each other in gallantly mounting the ladders, together with the rifles; but the Tartars fought desperately. As they retreated along the wall, they made a stand at every defensible point, sheltering themselves behind the large guard stations and watch-boxes, which are found at intervals upon most of the Chinese walls.

Many anecdotes are told by those who were present, of the desperate determination with which the Tartars fought. Many of them rushed upon the bayonets. In some instances, they got within the soldiers' guard, and, seizing them by the body, dragged their enemies with themselves over the walls; and in one or two instances succeeded in throwing them over, before they were themselves bayonetted. The Tartars were fine muscular men, and looked the more so from the loose dresses which they wore. They did not shrink from sword combats, or personal encounters of any kind; and had they been armed with weapons similar to those of our own troops, even without much discipline, upon the top of walls where the front is narrow, and the flanks cannot be turned, they would have probably maintained

their ground for a much longer time, and perhaps even until they were attacked by another body in the rear. Major Warren and Captain Simpson were wounded, as well as Lieutenant Cuddy.

As soon as the wall was scaled, one body of our troops proceeded to clear the walls to the right, and the other to the left; and the latter, as they scoured the walls, afterwards fell in with the third brigade, with the General and the Admiral at their head, who had just forced their way in at the gateway. While these important successes had been gained by General Schoedde with the second brigade, two other operations had been conducted at the western gate, one by the third brigade, and the other by a small body of marines and seamen under Captain Peter Richards. These are now to be detailed.

Sir Hugh Gough, as soon as he had been joined by the 18th and the greater part of the 49th, with the 26th, which had *not* accompanied Lord Saltoun's brigade, gave orders to blow in the west gate with powder-bags. The canal which runs along the walls on that side was found not to be fordable; and this was ascertained by four officers who volunteered to swim across it to ascertain the fact. Sir Hugh Gough was at this time with the third brigade, under Major-General Bartley, at about midway between the south and west gates, but determined to storm the latter, because the suburbs afforded shelter for the men to approach it, with little exposure. A few Tartar soldiers only appeared upon the walls at this point, as the main body had probably been marched off to reinforce those who were opposed

to our troops, after the escalade of the walls on the northern side.

Two guns, under Lieutenant Molesworth, were placed so as to command the approach to the gate, and to cover the advance of a party of sappers and miners, under Captain Pears, who were to fix the powder-bags against the gate. This operation was perfectly successful; and the General, putting himself at the head of the 18th, who had just come up, rushed in over the rubbish, the grenadiers forming the advance, and entered a long archway which led into what might be called an outwork, from which there was a second gate, conducting into the town itself.

It appears that in Chinese fortifications, as before described, there are always two gateways; the outer one placed at right angles to the main wall of the town, so as to be flanked by it, and leading into a large court, surrounded by walls similar to the walls of the town, and in which there are commonly cells for prisoners, &c. The second gate and archway leads from it directly into the body of the place, and is surmounted by a guard-house upon the top of the gateway, to which you ascend by a flight of stone steps on either side.

All resistance at the gateways had been already overcome, the Chinese guard at the inner gate having given way before the advanced party of the 55th regiment; and the open court, or space between the two gateways, having been just occupied by a party of marines and seamen under Captain Peter Richards and Captain Watson, who had escaladed the outer wall very near the gateway.

As no detailed account of this interesting part of the day's work has yet appeared, and as some misapprehension has prevailed with regard to the affair of the boats of the Blonde in the Canal, I have taken pains to ascertain the particulars from two officers who were present, and who were both wounded on the occasion. The following condensed statement of what took place may therefore be relied on for its accuracy.

The boats of the Blonde, which vessel was at anchor off one of the principal southern branches of the Grand Canal running under the city walls, having been employed in landing the Artillery Brigade during the early part of the morning, were ordered, about ten o'clock, to re-embark part of the Artillery and Gun-Lascars, with two howitzers, for the purpose of assisting in the attack of the west gate, and to create a diversion in favour of the troops. At all events, whatever the object of the movement might have been, it is certain that the guns were put on board the boats of the Blonde, and that there were altogether about one hundred men embarked. The boats consisted of the launch, barge, pinnace, cutter, and flat of that ship, together with two boats belonging to transports. They proceeded up the canal, which took a winding direction through the suburbs for some distance, until they came suddenly in sight of the west gate of the city, which until then had been obscured by the houses. The whole of these boats were under the command of Lieutenant Crouch, of the Blonde, having Messrs. Lambert, Jenkins, and Lyons, midshipmen, under his orders.

On coming in sight of the gate, the barge, cutter,

and flat were a little in advance of the other boats, and proceeding in single line towards a spot pointed out by Major Blundell, of the Madras Artillery, as well adapted for the landing of the guns. Suddenly a heavy fire of ginjals and matchlocks was opened on them from the whole line of the city wall, running parallel with the canal; and, as the height of it was little less than forty feet, the small gun of the barge could not be elevated sufficiently to do any service, and the fire of musketry which was returned was inefficient.

The Chinese opened their fire with deadly effect upon the advancing boats, and, in the course of about ten minutes, sixteen seamen and eight artillerymen were wounded; Lieutenant Crouch himself was hit in three places, and one midshipman (Mr. Lyons) and two officers of the Artillery were also wounded. Under these circumstances, the men were got out of the boats as quickly as possible, and placed under cover of the houses in the suburbs, on the opposite side of the canal. At this time these three boats were considerably in advance of the rest, and, as soon as the men were all landed, the boats were abandoned and the guns left behind. The launch and pinnace, who were behind them, as soon as they saw the disaster, and that to advance further would only expose themselves to a destructive fire, without the possibility of returning it with effect, stopped under cover of some buildings which sheltered them from the city walls.

The officers and men who belonged to the advanced boats, having many of their comrades wounded, were now in a trying predicament. The only alternative left

was to endeavour to join the other boats which had remained under cover; to do which they had to pass across an open space by the side of the canal, exposed to the whole fire of the enemy from the walls on the opposite side. This was, however, effected without further loss, although a heavy fire was opened on them (but of course at a greater distance than when in the boats). Some of the wounded were necessarily left behind, and were kindly treated by the Chinese people in the suburbs, *who showed no hostility.*

As it was evident that nothing further could be attempted at present, they all returned down the canal in the launch and pinnace, and reported the circumstances to Captain Richards, of the Cornwallis, to which ship the rest of the wounded were immediately removed.

On receiving the information of what had happened, Captain Peter Richards lost not a moment in landing with two hundred marines, at the entrance of the canal, where he was joined by about three hundred men of the 6th M.N.I., under Captain Maclean, of that corps, and then pushed through the suburbs towards the city walls; at the same time the whole of the boats of the Cornwallis, under the command of Lieutenant Stoddart, advanced by the canal, in company with the remaining boats of the Blonde, to bring off the boats and guns which had been left behind. They were also to endeavour to check the fire of the Chinese at the west gate, when Captain Richards advanced through the suburbs to escalade the wall.

As soon as Captain Richards had landed, he was joined by Captain Watson and Mr. Forster (master), of

the Modeste, with a boat's crew and a small body of marines belonging to that vessel. On reaching the foot of the walls, a heap of rubbish was luckily found to have been left by accident not far from the gate. Upon this the ladders were planted by Captain Peter Richards and Captain Watson, under cover of the fire of the Marines, in face of a large body of Tartars who lined the walls, and appeared determined to defend their post to the last. These two officers, together with Lieutenant Baker, of the Madras Artillery, and a private marine of the Modeste, were the first to ascend the ladders. As they got upon the wall (with much difficulty) they were directly exposed to the cross fire from the guard-houses over the outer and inner gateway, by which the marine was killed, and Captain Watson and Lieutenant Baker were wounded; the former having one of the buttons of his jacket driven into his side, and three balls passing through his jacket. The marine was killed by several shots passing through his body, and another marine (also belonging to the Modeste), who followed afterwards, was severely wounded.

With great difficulty and exertion about a dozen men got upon the wall; and Lieutenant Fitzjames, having succeeded in bringing up some rockets, lodged one of them in a guard-house over the gateway, which immediately caught fire, and threw the enemy into such consternation that they then gave way. Captain Richards (who had, as if by a miracle, escaped being wounded) was now able to dash down, at the head of his men, into the open space between the two gateways; and, just afterwards, the outer gate was blown in, as before described,

by powder-bags. The advanced guard of the 55th had in the meanwhile come round along the walls from their north-eastern angle, where General Schoedde's brigade had escaladed it, and had now reached the inner gateway.

The third brigade, under Major-General Bartley, accompanied by Sir Hugh Gough, and also by Sir William Parker, dashed in over the ruins of the gate, and, to their great disappointment, found that the walls had been already carried; but, within the city itself, the resistance of the Tartars was by no means overcome. Part of the 18th and 49th regiments, under Major-General Bartley, were now ordered to march along the western face of the walls, and they threw out a line of skirmishers as they advanced along some ditches and old houses below the wall. As the brigade filed along the walls left in front, they suddenly received a heavy fire from a body of Tartars, by which two officers were killed and two wounded, and several men struck down. The leading division of the 49th immediately dashed down the ramparts upon the enemy's left, while the 18th pushed forward to turn their right. They were soon dispersed, although many of them fought with great determination. One company of the 18th pursued them into the Tartar city. In this spirited affair the 18th had one officer killed and one wounded, with about twenty men killed and wounded. The loss of the 49th was one officer killed, one wounded, and about twenty-four rank and file killed and wounded.

In the mean time, the Admiral, having put himself at the head of the seamen and marines with his usual gallan-

try, marched some way along the walls where they had been already cleared by the 55th, and, as the heat of the sun at this time (past noon) was almost insupportable, he had directed the men to take shelter for a little while, in one of the watch-houses upon the ramparts. The heat was quite overpowering, and the men being already much fatigued, several of them died from sunstroke. Here it was that the gallant Major Uniacke, R.M., fell from the effects of the sun, and in the list of casualties of the day no less than sixteen men are included who died from the same cause.

Having rested something less than an hour in the guard-house, a heavy firing was heard within the Tartar city, and the men were instantly formed, and advanced in the direction of the firing, under Captain Richards and Captain Watson. On passing through a narrow street in the Tartar part of the city, a sudden fire was poured upon them by a body of Tartars drawn up across the street, behind a small gateway, where they seemed prepared to make a most determined stand. Several men were wounded, and it was necessary to advance with caution, taking advantage of shelter when it could be found. Here Lieutenant Fitzjames was wounded while endeavouring to get a rocket off.

Captain Watson was now sent round by a side lane, to endeavour to turn the flank of the Tartars, but there also the latter were prepared for them, behind a temporary barricade. However, a cheer, and a sudden rush from both divisions at once, upon the front and flank of the Tartars, carried the point, and the enemy were driven back with heavy loss, after showing indi-

vidual instances of the most desperate valour, in several hand-to-hand encounters. When the brave Tartars at length saw that their utmost efforts were of no avail, then began the scenes of horror, and the tragedy of self-immolation, which make one's very blood run cold to hear of. The Admiral himself was a witness of what took place. Some of the Tartars kept the doors of their houses with their very lives, while others could be seen within, deliberately cutting the throats of their women, and destroying their children, some by strangulation, and others by throwing them into the wells. In one house in particular, a Tartar was found in the act of sawing his wife's throat with a rusty sword, as he held her over the mouth of the well into which his children had been already thrown. He was shot before the deed was completed, in order to save the woman, who was immediately taken care of, and had the wound, which was not severe, tied up. Yet the first use she made of her tongue, as soon as she could speak, was to utter the most violent imprecations upon the heads of the victors. The children who were in the well (in which there was little water), were all got up, and recovered.

In other houses numbers of poor creatures were found dead, some by their own hands or the hands of each other, and the rest by the hands of their husbands. In one house no less than fourteen dead bodies were discovered, principally women; in others the men began to cut their own throats the moment they saw any of our soldiers approaching; while in other instances they rushed out furiously from some hiding-place,

and attacked with the sword any one who came in their way.

Several of our officers had to defend their own lives with the sword, long after all systematic opposition had ceased. An officer of the 14th M.N.I. had a sword combat with three Tartars who rushed out upon him sword in hand, and by retreating so as to endeavour to take them singly, he was able to cut down two of them just at the moment when a fatal blow was about to be aimed at him by the third, who was fortunately shot at the very critical moment by a soldier who was coming up to his officer's assistance.

It is impossible to calculate the number of victims to the barbarous practice of self-immolation and wholesale murder, which met their voluntary doom. Chin-keang-foo was a Tartar stronghold considered by them as impregnable; they could not brook defeat, or the desecration of their hearths, by the tread of the unknown but thoroughly-hated barbarian; every house had its victims; and to add to the horrors of the day, and the desolation of the city, the Chinese plunderers flocked in from the country in multitudes, pillaging in all directions. They even set fire to the streets in some parts, to enable them to carry on their work with less interruption in others.

On our side, although the place had been taken by storm, and not without heavy loss, the strictest orders were given to prevent the pillage of the town as much as possible. Measures were taken, not only to control our own men (who, according to European custom, might have expected to be allowed to pillage a town taken by assault), but also to arrest the violent proceed-

ings of the Chinese rabble, who, in this as in other instances, were the worst enemies of their own countrymen.

The authorities and nearly all the respectable inhabitants had fled; and the Tartar general (who had complained bitterly to the Emperor of insufficient means for defence) had set fire to his own house, and buried himself and part of his family in its ashes.

Notwithstanding all the attempts to prevent the destruction of property, it was impossible altogether to arrest it in so large a city. Plunder was sometimes taken from the *Chinese thieves outside* the town, and occasionally articles of value were thrown over the walls, because they were not allowed to be carried through the gates. In this way, plunder was sometimes obtained, and many ingenious devices were adopted to endeavour to secure a few valuables; but nearly all the mischief was done by the Chinese themselves.

The public offices were taken possession of by our troops, and all the arms and warlike stores which were found were destroyed. Only sixty thousand dollars worth of Sycee silver was found in the public coffers; but a little addition was made to the prize fund by the sale of articles which were taken from plunderers, when they were discovered trying to carry property out of the gates. The waste and destruction of property was however enormous. When more valuable objects were discovered, those of smaller value were left in the streets; costly furs lay strewed in all directions; silks and satins lay about in such profusion that the only difficulty was to choose among them. So little had the inhabitants expected that their stronghold would fall, that valuables of all kinds, gems, and

gold ornaments, and curiosities of every description, and in some instances even money, were left in the wardrobes of the best houses, at the mercy of the first comers. Under these circumstances, it is surprising that so little plunder was carried away from a city taken by assault.

Terrible as was the downfall of Chin-keang-foo in the eyes of the Chinese, and great as was the desolation throughout the city in every direction, it cannot be doubted that the loss of this important Tartar stronghold, and the panic created by it (the whole trade of the country being at the same time suspended), tended very materially to produce in the mind of the Emperor and of his ministers the conviction that a speedy peace, on any terms, was preferable to a continuance of the war.

NAMES OF OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED AT CHIN-KEANG-FOO.

H. M.'s 49th	regiment,	Lieut. T. P. Gibbons, Sub. Ass. Com. Gen., killed.
„ 18th	„	Captain Collinson, killed.
6th M. N. I.	„	Lieut. Col. Drever, fell dead from sun-stroke.

WOUNDED.

Royal Artillery .	Lieut. J. N. A. Freese, slightly.
Madras Artillery .	Lieut. Waddell, severely.
„ .	Assistant Surgeon ——, severely.
H. M.'s 49th . .	Lieut. Baddeley, dangerously.
„ . . .	Lieut. Grant, slightly.
„ 18th . .	Lieut. Bernard, slightly.
„ 26th . .	Ensign Duperier, slightly.
„ 55th . .	Major Warren, severely.
„ . . .	Lieut. Cuddy, severely.
2nd M. N. I. . .	Lieut. Carr, Adjutant, slightly.
„ . . .	Ensign Travers, slightly.
36th M. N. I. Rifles	Capt. Simpson, severely.

About 150 rank and file killed and wounded.

N.B. The names of officers wounded in the naval branch have been mentioned in the narrative.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Fever breaks out — Its severity — Blockade of the Grand Canal — Description of that great work — Overflow of the river — Distress of the people—Fleet of three hundred trading junks stopped—Activity of the Nemesis—Visit from the mandarin of Esching—Curious scenes on board the steamer—Coal junks stopped—Abundance of coal found in China—Description of it and where found—The Dido and Nemesis —Mode of procuring supplies—Hospitality of the people at Esching — Friendly intercourse at one town while fighting at another — Anomalies of war—Anecdotes of Chinese visiters—Emperor's compliment to the family of the Tartar general — Garrison left at Chinkeang-foo—Gutzlaff's Pagoda—Cast iron building one thousand two hundred years old—Passage of the fleet up to Nankin —Arrival of the imperial commissioners—Attempts to gain time—Decision of the plenipotentiary — Remarks on the city of Nankin — Dispositions for the attack—Chinese commissioners yield at the last moment — Interviews and negociations — Necessary delay — Remarkable report sent by Ke-ying — Exchange of visits — Sir Henry enters the city — Signature of the treaty — Remarks on our future intercourse with the Chinese.

Although the Tartar troops had proved themselves a formidable enemy at Chin-keang-foo, and the loss sustained on our side had been much greater than in any previous encounter, a far more dangerous enemy soon began to show itself. Cholera and low marsh fever now made their appearance, and carried off a great many men, particularly among the new comers. The

98th regiment, recently arrived from England, suffered perhaps more severely than the rest; but, in reality, every ship, whether a man of war, or belonging to the transport service, had numerous sick on board; and some of the transport ships were at length scarcely manageable, owing to the shortness of hands. Nor was the sickness limited to one part of the river more than another; for the North Star, and the French frigate, Erigone, which were at anchor at Woosung, were quite as much afflicted by it as the rest of the squadron higher up the river. Nor did it begin to diminish until cool weather set in, and the fleet gradually withdrew out of the river, after the peace. Many a brave man too suffered from its effects for months after leaving the country; and the officers were not more exempt than the men.

The total loss our forces sustained on the 21st of July, at the capture of Chin-keang-foo, was as follows.

Killed, three officers, two sergeants, twenty-nine rank and file. Total, thirty-four.

Wounded, fourteen officers, one warrant-officer, four sergeants, eighty-seven rank and file, one follower. Total, one hundred and seven. Missing, three men. Grand total in the military arm, killed, wounded, and missing, all ranks, one hundred and forty-four.

Of these, one officer (Lieutenant-Colonel Drever), and sixteen rank and file, of H.M. 98th and 49th regiments, were killed by sun-stroke.

In the naval arm of the expedition, one officer of marines and two privates were killed, and two private marines wounded. Four officers of the Royal Navy and fifteen seamen were wounded.

Grand total in the naval arm, 24.

Grand total of casualties during the day, one hundred and sixty-eight.

We will now pause for a moment to inquire what was being done elsewhere by the naval branch of the expedition, particularly by the advanced squadron higher up the river, during these operations at Chin-keang-foo. The great object in view was to stop the entire trade through that part of the country, which, having numerous branches of the Grand Canal passing through it, or at all events being intersected by several canals having communications with the great one, may be considered as a centre of commercial intercourse with some of the most important provinces of China. The annual grain-junks had already passed up the canal towards Pekin; but the importance of this great commercial highway (if a canal may so be called in a country where the only means of transport is by water) may be estimated from the fact, that in the course even of a few days no less than seven hundred trading-junks were stopped; by which means no less panic was created throughout the country, far and near, than by the successes of our arms.

There are at least three principal communications between the Yangtze-Keang and the southern portion of the Grand Canal, of which, perhaps, the largest passes along the western side of the walls of Chin-keang-foo, through the suburbs of that city. It runs very near the west and south gates, where it is crossed by stone bridges, which, of course, impede the navigation for large junks. In its narrowest part, where it is

contracted by stone buttresses, it is about twenty feet broad; but, in other parts, it varies from seventy to eighty feet in breadth, with very high, steep banks, and with a depth of water varying from nine to fifteen feet. These observations were made by Captain Grey, of the Endymion.

The communications on the northern side of the Yangtze-Keang are much more numerous, and the main canal becomes much larger and finer. The principal branch of communication opens about a mile above Golden Island; but there are, in fact, so many openings, and such numerous cross-lines running from one branch to the other, that the whole of this part of the country resembles a network of water-courses. It is, in reality, so little above the level of the river, that it is entirely laid out in paddy-swamps, which are only separated from the various canals by embankments artificially made, and which form the only roads or footways.

The main canal itself, on that side, varies from eighty to one hundred yards in width, and has a fine towing-path, running along upon the top of the embankment by which its waters are confined. A few junks had been sunk at its entrance, and barriers had also been formed in other branches, in order to impede the navigation, in case our small steamers should attempt to ascend them. At the time our forces were in the neighbourhood, the waters were evidently much higher than usual; the paddy-fields were deeply inundated, although the rice was being cut; and some of the villages and courts of the joss-houses were flooded.

Shortly afterwards, while our squadron was lying off Nankin, the river overflowed its banks so extensively, that the Chinamen were obliged to move about in boats from house to house in the suburbs; and great distress arose, both from this cause, and from the entire stoppage of trade in the river.

A country so subject to inundations, and intersected as it is by canals in all directions, cannot but be at times extremely unhealthy; and it is not to be wondered at that sickness should have broken out extensively, among a body of foreigners long confined on board ship. We shall presently allude to the sickness prevailing among the Chinese themselves in the neighbourhood of Nankin, which may, in some degree, account for the great falling off in its population.

From what has been said of the numerous openings and communications of the Grand Canal, it is evident that it would require a considerable force to establish an efficient blockade. But not only was it necessary to stop the trade, but also to take measures, at the same time, to prevent the panic among the people from reaching such a pitch as to drive them away from their homes, and leave the country at the mercy of the rabble, and of the lawless plunderers who flock into the towns from all parts, causing uneasiness even to the government.

The Blonde and Modeste, together with the Proserpine, were placed so as to blockade the two principal entrances of the canal immediately above Chin-keang-foo, two or three days before the town was taken; while the Nemesis and the Queen steamers, having the

Plenipotentiary and Captain Bourchier on board, proceeded some miles higher up the river, until they suddenly discovered a large fleet of not less than three hundred trading-junks. These were all ordered to drop down immediately to Chin-keang, where they could more easily be prevented from making their escape. A number of papers written in Chinese were distributed among the captains of the junks, telling them that no harm would be done to them, but their vessels must be detained. The plenipotentiary immediately returned to Chin-keang-foo, and the Nemesis was left to hasten the departure of the junks, which were made to get under way at once. A grand scene of confusion followed, as they were crowded together, and all were glad to be allowed to get away from the steamer without molestation. They were afterwards brought-to, in one of the branches of the southern canal, just above Golden Island, and, for some time, were under the charge of the Proserpine steamer, Commander Hough.

A few miles up the branch of the canal near the mouth of which this large fleet of junks was discovered, was situated the third-class town called Esching, distant about twelve or fourteen miles from Chin-keang. The approach of the Nemesis, and the detention of the junks, caused so much consternation, that in the evening a respectably-dressed Chinaman, who, from the authority he was afterwards found to possess, must have been a mandarin of some rank, came down to the steamer, bringing a few trifling presents of tea, &c., as a means of introduction. His object evidently was

to ascertain whether there was any intention of taking possession of the town; and, if so, to endeavour to avert the calamity by the offer of a ransom.

Supplies of fresh provisions were at this time greatly wanted in the fleet. Many ships, particularly transports, had not been able to procure fresh meat or vegetables for a considerable time, and the sick were, consequently, deprived of what was almost essential to their recovery. This opportunity of procuring supplies was not to be neglected. The Chinese gentleman and his attendants were conducted over every part of the steamer, with which they were evidently much surprised, but above all with the engines, which would have astonished our own fathers scarcely less. He was soon made to understand that if he promised to send down abundant supplies, all of which would be equitably paid for, no harm whatever would be done to the town or its inhabitants; but that no trading-junks could on any account be permitted to pass up the river, or through that branch of the canal.

A demand for twenty bullocks was made, and they were to be delivered on the following day. This was declared to be impossible—so many could not be found; however, he was quietly told that they *must* be forthcoming, and that ten dollars would be paid for each of them. Late in the evening the party of Chinamen returned to the town, apparently quite satisfied with the civility they had received, and equally convinced of the formidable character of their new visiter.

On the following morning, the 19th, the same people again came on board very early, bringing with them

vegetables and fruit, and remained some hours, while the Nemesis was chasing the junks, which were continually coming into view as she proceeded, and were naturally trying to make their escape. There were two interpreters (Chinamen from Canton) on board, who hailed them to bring-to, telling them that they would receive no molestation if they went quietly *down* the river. But some of them continued to persevere in their attempt to escape, and, when two shots across their bows failed to bring them to, a third was invariably fired into them, which soon had the desired effect. One or two Congreve rockets frightened them still more, and at last they were all brought-to in great consternation. The Chinese visiters, who were on board all this time, were perfectly astonished and bewildered, but were not prevented from making a good breakfast, nevertheless.

A short distance further up the river, they fell in with several junks laden with coal, but abandoned by their crews. Some of them were soon driven on shore at different points, where they could not easily be got off, in order to serve as coal depôts for the steamer, and one of the largest of them was lashed alongside and taken in tow, while the Nemesis still continued her pursuit of the other junks up the river; one part of her crew being occupied in "coaling" from the junk, and the other at quarters, occasionally firing a shot across the bows of any junk that refused to bring-to.

It is here worth while to remark that coal is found in great abundance in China. Indeed it is difficult to say what is *not* found there: gold, silver, iron, copper, zinc,

coal, in short, all that is most requisite for a commercial and manufacturing people. Coal is known to exist in abundance in the gulf of Pechelee; it is found in the province of Che-keang, and in almost every town visited by the expedition it was exposed for sale in greater or less quantity. At Nankin immense heaps of it were found stored up by the river-side, and divided into three qualities, separated from each other. That which answered best for steaming purposes had a less promising appearance than the other qualities. It looked slaty, but was found to burn better than the Indian coal, and our steamers all found it to answer well. Probably, if the mines were worked to a greater depth, a better description of coal would be found.[1]

About a mile and a half above the lower branch of the canal leading up to Eshing, another larger branch was discovered, which joined the first one a little below the town. On the evening of the 19th, the Dido and Childers arrived, and joined the Nemesis; the former, commanded by the Honourable Captain Keppel, who was now the senior officer, was stationed off the upper branch, while the latter blockaded the lower one. Captain Hall immediately presented to Captain Keppel the Chinese gentleman, or, in reality, mandarin, who had

[1] Dr. Smith makes particular mention of coal as being commonly seen in China during Lord Macartney's embassy. Pits of coal were found near the Poyang lake above Nankin. He says that the coal found in the province of Pechelee was a species of graphite; that which was seen near the Yangtze river was like Kennel coal, and that observed near the Poyang lake resembled covey coal. Other coal found at Chow-chow-foo contained much sulphur, and was used in the manufacture of sulphate of iron in the neighbourhood of that city.

hitherto been so polite and attentive; and the assurances previously given were reiterated, that no harm would be done to the town or the neighbouring country, if abundant supplies were brought down. The same evening they went up the canal in three boats to the town, where they were very politely received by the same Chinaman, who appeared to possess great authority over the people, who obeyed every direction he gave. At first they looked on in half stupid wonder, but were evidently reassured when they were told that nothing would be demanded but supplies of meat and vegetables.

On the following day, the Chinaman again came down to the Nemesis, bringing with him all the gentlemen of his family, in order to show his confidence, and at the same time invited Captain Keppel and other officers to visit him at his house in the city, and proposed to give them an entertainment at a joss-house ashore. He even hinted that he would *introduce them to his wife.*

Arrangements were now made for establishing a regular market in the courtyard of the large joss-house, which stood close to the landing-place at the mouth of the canal. The man scrupulously kept his word, supplies in great abundance of every description were brought down for sale, and the sight of dollars soon overcame all the Chinamen's fears. In fact, they reaped a good harvest. These supplies were all sent down to the fleet at Chin-keang as fast as they could be procured, Chinese boats or small junks being employed to convey them, escorted by a boat alternately from the Dido and the Nemesis, to ensure their safe delivery. Such was

the result of conciliating the good-will, and pacifying the fears of the Chinese.

For a moment the fears of the people were awakened by the accidental burning of some buildings at the mouth of the lower branch of the canal, where the Childers was stationed. But fortunately the Admiral came up in person, on board the Pluto, in the afternoon, to examine the river, and the assurance of protection if abundant supplies were provided being circulated among the people by a written paper or chop in the Chinese character, they resumed their former confidence, and did not conceal their delight. This was the evening before Chin-keang was taken.

The next day, the 21st July, the Chinese gentleman and his attendants, according to previous invitation, came down to conduct the officers to his house in the city, situated four or five miles up the canal. It is not a little singular, that while one party of our countrymen were partaking of Chinese hospitality, upon the most friendly terms, in the centre of a considerable town, the rest were engaged in deadly hostility, fighting for hearth and home, in a city only a few miles distant. Although the distance from one to the other by the river cannot be less than twelve or thirteen miles, it must be very much less in a direct line by land, as the firing was distinctly heard. This was one of the anomalies of the war; at one place we traded, at another we fought; here we extended the right hand of fellowship, while there we crossed our swords in deadly fight. This was the evident result of making war upon the government, and not upon the people, and of en-

deavouring to make it fall as heavily as possible upon the former, and as lightly as possible upon the latter. So far from being a *cruel* war, we ought rather to say that it would be impossible to point out any instance of European warfare carried on with so little hardship and so much mercy to the people.

On coming on board to fetch the officers who were invited to the entertainment at his house, the unhappy Chinaman burst into a flood of tears, and soon made them understand that his wife had run away from him, the moment it was announced that they were coming to pay her a visit. Probably tidings had already been brought of the commencement of the attack upon Chinkeang; nevertheless, on reaching the town, there were no indications of alarm among the people; they crowded round in all directions, out of mere curiosity; the shops were not closed, and business did not appear to be interrupted.

A proclamation was distributed as the party proceeded, announcing to the inhabitants that all supplies would be scrupulously paid for, and that no injury would be done to the city. The best interpreter was found to be a little Chinese boy, only ten years old, who had been several months on board the Nemesis, having been almost adopted by her commander, after the death of his father, who was killed at Chusan. In this short time he had picked up English in an astonishing manner. His extreme youth was a guarantee for his honesty; and, at last, the Chinese gentleman carried on all his conversation through this interesting little boy, declaring that the little fellow spoke truth and

could be depended on, but that the two Canton interpreters perverted what was said, by purposely translating it wrongly, to suit their own purposes, and with a view to extort money. This will clearly show how much we were sometimes at the mercy of scheming and dishonest native linguists, whose little knowledge of broken English was often extremely limited.

The Chinese gentleman's house was situated in the very heart of the city; it was a very respectable mansion, with courts and buildings of great extent, ornamented with carved wood-work, similar to most other respectable houses of its class. All the relations and friends of the family had been invited on the occasion, refreshments were handed round, but no females made their appearance. At length, the master of the house was resolved to drown his sorrows for the loss of his wife, by the delicious enjoyment of his opium-pipe, which soon revived his drooping spirits.

The return of the party through the streets towards the boats was the occasion of greater movement among the people than before. As an additional mark of respect, two well-dressed persons accompanied each of the officers, one on either side, *fanning* them as they went, for the day was extremely sultry. Altogether, it was a most interesting scene. Another entertainment was also given to them in the joss-house, at the mouth of the canal, where the market was held; and, in short, nothing was omitted on the part of the Chinese, to show their confidence, and their wish to cultivate our good-will; this too *on the very day of the capture of Chin-keang.*

On the following day, the surveying vessels, Starling, Plover, and Medusa, having on board the masters of the fleet, joined the advanced squadron under Captain Keppel, bringing the first intelligence of the fight of the previous day.

We must now return for a moment to Chin-keang, which we left in the last chapter in the possession of our troops, the greater part of which were already proparing to move up towards Nankin. Another attempt was now made by the Chinese commissioners, Keying and Elepoo, to open negotiations with the Plenipotentiary; but since they did not even now produce full authority from the Emperor to treat for peace, no other than the answer they had previously received could be given to them.

It has before been mentioned that the Tartar general, Hailing, when he saw that all was lost, set fire to his house, and burned himself to death in it. His wife and his grandson shared the same fate; at least so it would appear from the orders issued by the Emperor afterwards, whose mandate was sent to Keying, "that he should despatch messengers to make diligent search for their bodies, in order that great honours might be conferred upon them. Such loyalty and devotion are worthy of the highest praise!" A temple was also ordered to be erected to his memory, as soon as the war should be ended, upon which his own name, and also those of his wife and his grandson, were to be inscribed. Moreover, as soon as the prescribed period of mourning of one hundred days should have expired, the whole of his sons and daughters were to be sought out, and con-

ducted into the imperial presence. Such, then, are the rewards which the Emperor holds out to those who put an end to their own lives after a defeat, rather than "live to fight another day!"

Sir Hugh Gough, finding that it would take a much larger body of men to garrison the town than could be spared from his small force, and that, moreover, it could scarcely be considered habitable during the great heat, on account of the horrible stench proceeding from the dead bodies of the fallen Tartars (principally by their own hands), and from the stagnant water in the smaller canals, determined merely to occupy the heights commanding the city towards its north-eastern angle. Major-general Schoedde's brigade was to be left in charge of the place, together with a detachment of artillery. In order to establish a direct communication between the heights and the city on that side, a portion of the wall was blown in (with very large charges of Chinese powder), and the rubbish removed, so as to leave a large, free opening into the city. The whole line of parapet on that side was also demolished. Another hill commanding the southern entrance to the Grand Canal was also to be occupied. The troops left behind were quite sufficient to hold these positions against any force the Chinese could bring against them after their late defeat. It consisted of the 55th regiment, and one company of the 98th, with the 2nd and 6th M. N. I., with artillery and sappers.

Perhaps the most curious object discovered at Chinkeang, and which has excited many ingenious speculations as to the ancient progress of the Chinese in many

of the useful arts, was a small Pagoda *made entirely of cast iron*. Some have called it Gutzlaff's Pagoda, for he is said to have been the first to find it out; and it excited so much attention, that the question was at one time mooted, as to the possibility of taking it to pieces, and conveying it to England, as a remarkable specimen of Chinese antiquity. Nor would this have been at all impossible; for, although it had seven stories, it was altogether little more than thirty feet high, and each story was cast in separate pieces. It was of an octagonal shape, and had originally been ornamented in high relief on every side, though the lapse of ages had much defaced the ornaments. It was calculated by Mr. Gutzlaff, that this remarkable structure must be at least *twelve hundred years old*, judging from the characters still found upon it. Whatever its age may be, there can be no question that it proves the Chinese were acquainted with the art of casting large masses of iron, and of using them both for solidity and for ornament, centuries before it was adopted in Europe. One can scarcely help regretting that this little Pagoda was not taken to pieces and brought to England, as a much finer and more worthy trophy than all the guns captured during the war.

On the 2nd of August, the preparations were all completed for the advance of the forces upon Nankin, the surveying vessels having already preceded the squadron. The principal difficulty which remained to be overcome was the great force of the current, which it required a strong favourable wind to enable the ships to stem. Indeed, without the assistance of steamers, it is

doubtful whether all the ships could have got up. On the 5th, the General reached Nankin in the Marion transport, towed by the Queen steamer, having the Plenipotentiary on board.

On the following day, the Admiral got up in the Cornwallis, with some other vessels, but the whole of the squadron did not join until the 9th. The Nemesis attended a part of the fleet, to render assistance wherever it was most required, particularly in getting off the transports which took the ground, a service requiring no little judgment and perseverance. Just below Nankin the river takes a very considerable bend, its former course having been nearly east and west, while it now turns nearly due south until it has passed Nankin. There is, however, a cut, or canal, or creek, at all events a water passage, which cuts off this bend, of course materially shortening the distance, which from point to point is about ten miles round, and only six miles by the cut. The passage, however, is narrow; but the Nemesis, taking in tow one of the transports, found her way safely through it.

On the 10th, the proper positions were assigned to the ships, in case it should be necessary to bombard the city. The nearest point of the walls to the river was about seven hundred yards, and the nearest gate about one thousand. The Cornwallis, Blonde, and heavy steamers were placed so as to breach the walls, if required.

Already before leaving Chin-keang, a regular summons had been sent up to Nankin, addressed to New Kien, the viceroy of the Province. It was hoped that

by these means bloodshed might be avoided. Immediately the forces arrived before the city, it was determined that the troops should be landed without delay, with a view to make a strong demonstration against the city, and there was some reason to think that this would be sufficient to decide the wavering councils of the Chinese, without further resort to arms; and, at all events, it was requisite to support our demands by a show of the means of enforcing them.

A memorial was intercepted, addressed to the Emperor by the Tartar general commanding at Nankin, boldly announcing the defeat and dispersion of the Chinese troops, and the imminent danger even of Nankin itself. It was evident that great alarm was felt, and that a general desire to stay hostilities had got the better of all their hatred of the foreigners. The entire stoppage of the trade of that part of the empire, and the distress resulting from it, tended very materially to promote this desirable object.

The venerable Elepoo had arrived at Nankin nearly at the same time with Sir Henry Pottinger; and very soon afterwards Keying, the other Imperial Commissioner, a member of the imperial house sent expressly from Pekin, joined his colleague. Various messages and writings now passed between the Governor of Nankin, New Kien, and the Plenipotentiary, in which, among other things, a heavy ransom was offered for the city. In short, the grand effort of the Chinese authorities was to gain time, to defer the evil hour of absolute concession to our demands, and to put us off in some way or other for the moment, as they had

formerly done at Canton, without committing themselves to a final settlement of affairs.

Fortunately, they had a man of determined energy and statesmanlike qualities to deal with, in Sir Henry Pottinger; one who took a broad, defined view of all the questions involved, and who would not swerve for a moment from what he considered just demands and capable of being enforced. All the astute efforts of the Chinese to temporize, to *shirk* the main question, to save their own dignity, and to withhold what was due to that of their opponents, were promptly and energetically met. With all the honour which we justly accord to the naval and military operations of the war, with all due consideration for the diplomatic difficulties which had hitherto beset our efforts to make an equitable adjustment of the pending disputes, we cannot but concede to Sir Henry Pottinger the well-earned palm of praise and eminence for the consummate tact and skill with which he conducted the difficult negotiations at Nankin to a speedy and successful issue.

It is not necessary, nor indeed would it be an easy matter even for one initiated into the secrets of the diplomatic correspondence which followed, to describe all the attempts at evasion which were made by the Chinese, and the cunning with which they at first endeavoured to arrogate to their Emperor and to themselves superior titles of distinction and precedence. Even when it was announced that the High Commissioners, Elepoo and Keying, had arrived, with full powers under the imperial pencil to treat upon every subject, it was no easy task to bring them to straightforward matters

of business, or to force them to produce the actual instrument of authority which they professed to possess. The landing of the troops, however, and the earnest preparations which were made for storming the city, tended to bring them speedily to their senses.

After deducting the garrison left at Chin-keang, and the sick which remained on board the transports, the actual force at Sir Hugh Gough's disposal for the attack of the city amounted to about three thousand four hundred men, exclusive of the officers; a force sufficient for the easy attainment of the object itself, but very small indeed for the duties likely to be required of it, when once in possession of the city. Sickness would very soon have greatly reduced the number of effective men; and, although they would in case of need have received accessions, by the addition of the marines and seamen of the squadron, still there were even at that time so many sick on board the ships, that it would have been very difficult to make any calculation as to the number which would have remained fit for service at the end of a couple of months. The waters of the river were exceedingly high; in many parts the banks were overflowed in the neighbourhood of the city, and fever and cholera were the most dangerous enemies to be apprehended. In every point of view, it is a matter of the greatest congratulation, not only that the war was so soon brought to a close, but even that our forces were not detained for any great length of time at Nankin.

Had the terms, which, as before stated, had been offered by New Kien, the governor of the city, been

accepted, instead of the Chinese being compelled to make peace at once, it is probable that the war would have been longer protracted, and that our forces would have descended the river, re infectâ, and Hang-chow-foo and Soo-chow-foo would have been the next points of attack. In this way, it would have been difficult to assign any near period for the termination of the war; for, as long as the Chinese could shift the scene of the drama from one part to another, they were less likely to bend the neck and yield to the inevitable necessity of making peace, short of our dictating its terms at Pekin itself. The stoppage of the trade of the Great Imperial Canal, with all its numerous ramifications, struck a heavier blow than the force of our arms could have inflicted by the mere capture of Nankin; and in fact the expedition up the Yangtze-Keang, with the alarm and distress occasioned by the stoppage of all that immense internal trade, and the moral effect produced by our presence unchecked and apparently irresistible in the interior of the country, at a distance of two hundred and twenty miles from the river's mouth, had much more real effect in inducing the haughty Chinese government to succumb, than the mere terror of our arms in open fight, or the knowledge of the vast power and resources of Great Britain, which they were then in reality only beginning to feel.

The position of Nankin is evidently well chosen for that of a great capital; but alas! how fallen is the cit from its ancient importance and extent. There are remains of an ancient or outer wall, which can be traced over hill and dale for a distance of not less than

thirty-five miles. The Chinese have a saying that if two horsemen start at daybreak from any given point of the walls, in opposite directions, and gallop round the walls of the city, they will not meet until sunset. But this must be a regular *Chinese* gallop, and not exactly that of an English hunter. The Chinese horses are mere ponies. How much of this immense space was in ancient times occupied by houses, it would be difficult to determine. The walls of the present city are not nearly of so great an extent; and, of the actual space enclosed within them, a very small portion indeed, perhaps not exceeding an eighth part, is occupied by the actual town.

Here again, as at Chin-keang and Chapoo, the Tartar city is separated from the Chinese part of it, by a wall and gates running across it;—so carefully have the conquerors preserved their broad line of distinction, in person, habits, mode of life, and privileges, even in the ancient capital of the empire.

The great extent of the walls even in the present day rendered the city ill calculated for defence, independently even of its being commanded by hills, particularly on its eastern side. The principal of these was called the Chungshan hill, the base of which commanded the ramparts, and from the summit of which there was a magnificent prospect over the whole surrounding country, including the city itself. It was principally from this, the eastern side, that the chief attack was to have been made, had it been necessary to resort to extremities. There were three gates in that face of the walls, which run very irregularly, and

towards the river are almost inaccessible, owing to the swampy nature of the ground; a considerable lake occupies the space between two of the gates. The latter are however approached by good causeways, by which they might easily have been threatened, while the real attack would have been made higher up, under cover of the guns planted upon the slope of the Chung-shan hill.

The greater part of the troops were landed at a village about four or five miles up the creek or short cut before described, because there were good causeways leading directly from that point towards the city. The Nemesis was able to land at one time not less than a thousand men, and, in case of absolute necessity, could have contrived to carry at least a hundred and fifty more.

On the opposite or western side of the city, there was a large canal running from the river directly up under the walls, and serving to strengthen the approaches to them on that side. The mouth of this canal was completely stopped up by very strong rafts, firmly secured. They were, moreover, constructed in such a manner, that there were in fact a succession of rafts, one above the other. On removing the upper tier, another lower one immediately rose to the surface; and, as they were made of stout timbers, well secured together, they effectually prevented our boats from getting up the canal. Upon the top of the rafts, little huts had even been erected, in which a few poor fellows were living, but apparently not with any purpose of defence.

It is matter of little interest now to enter into details

of what *might* have taken place; since the mere demonstration of our force, and the tenor of our negotiations, or rather *demands*, at length proved sufficient to induce the Chinese to give way, without our being compelled to put in execution the plans suggested. Several preliminary interviews took place, between Major Malcolm, accompanied by Mr. Morrison, the accomplished and indefatigable interpreter, and some of the Chinese officers deputed by the Commissioners. It was understood that the general terms of the treaty were the subject of discussion at these meetings; but the great difficulty seemed to be to get the Chinese authorities to produce the actual document under the Emperor's own pencil, by which they professed to be furnished with full powers to treat for peace. There was a great deal of shuffling and evasion; an evident reluctance to go to the extreme point; and probably a hope on their part that, by dilatoriness and ingenuity, they might bring us to modify our terms. But Sir Henry Pottinger was firm, decided, and energetic. He was there to dictate rather than to treat, and his perfect knowledge of the oriental character came well to the aid of his natural discernment and vigour of mind.

At daylight on the 14th the attack was ordered to be made upon the city, all being now in readiness, and the guns in position. Due warning was finally given to the Commissioners, that nothing could delay or suspend the attack, except the production of the actual document itself, of the contents of which they had hitherto only given a very partial account. It was not until past midnight, *scarcely more than three hours* before

the artillery would have opened, and the assault have taken place, that the commissioners at length yielded, and sent a letter, addressed to Sir Henry Pottinger, promising the production of the all-important document at a meeting to be arranged for the morning, and entreating that hostilities might at least be delayed until that time.

This was a moment of intense excitement to all who were acquainted with the circumstances. The attack was of course delayed, but it was doubted by many whether some new pretext would not still be found to delay or to break off the negociations, and render the capture of the city inevitable. However, the proposed meeting did take place at a temple on shore, in the southern suburbs of the city, near the canal; and, at length, with great form and ceremony, the Emperor's commission was produced, and carefully examined by Mr. Morrison, in the presence of Major Malcolm; and, at the same time, Sir Henry Pottinger's patent was likewise produced, and translated to the deputies who attended for the purpose on the part of the Imperial Commissioners.

As yet, no personal interview had taken place between Sir Henry and the Commissioners. Matters now proceeded satisfactorily. It was evident that the Chinese were at length prepared to yield any thing we might demand; their anxiety to put an end to the blockade of the river and the canal was not concealed, and it was said to be freely admitted that the people were in the greatest distress.

Three days afterwards, viz., on the 17th, it was an-

nounced by Sir Henry Pottinger to the naval and military commanders-in-chief, that the negociations had arrived at that stage which authorized him to beg that hostilities might be considered suspended. Some little delay was necessarily occasioned, by the time required, and the difficulty experienced, in translating the lengthened correspondence which took place. The distance, moreover, of the city from the ships, and the time necessary to receive and transmit the communications and their replies, tended to prolong the proceedings. Even in three days, however, the treaty was actually drafted in English and Chinese (the latter a task of extreme difficulty, from the precision of terms necessary), and the commissioners acceded to the whole tenor and forms of a document of incalculable importance, not only to England and the other nations of Europe, but to the whole future welfare and progress of the Chinese empire. The first treaty made between the haughty and impenetrable empire of China and any other nation of the earth, upon terms of equal rank and title, was exacted by England, and did honour to her discernment, perseverance, and forbearance, no less than to her power.

Many days must have elapsed before the terms of the treaty could be made known at Pekin, and the assent of the Emperor be received. It might still have been doubted whether, even in the eleventh hour, the Emperor could bring himself to submit to the hard necessity of accepting terms which he had hitherto believed himself able rather to dictate to every other nation, or to accord as a matter of "especial favour," to

submissive barbarians, than to receive from them as a boon.

The High Commissioners, of course, professed to be confident that all the provisions of the treaty would be assented to by the Emperor. They were extremely anxious to persuade Sir Henry Pottinger that the ships might safely be withdrawn from the river *at once*, even before an answer could be received from Pekin. Their great anxiety to have the blockade raised was by no means concealed; but the Plenipotentiary was far too clever a diplomatist to think of foregoing for a moment the immense advantage which the position of our forces already gave him, and the Commissioners were distinctly apprized that every thing would still continue to be held in readiness for the resumption of hostilities, in the event of the Emperor's confirmation of the acts of his Commissioners being withheld.

The report which was sent up to the Emperor by the two High Commissioners was certainly remarkable for its clearness and simplicity, compared with the tone usually adopted in Chinese documents. Indeed, it has generally been accorded to Keying, that he was the first high officer who, since the commencement of the war, had dared to tell the naked truth to his Imperial master. There is reason to believe that numerous private reports concerning the state of the province, the disorganization of the local government, and the feeling of the people generally, were transmitted by him to Pekin.

In the lengthened memorial which has been publicly circulated, he by no means conceals the difficulties with which he is surrounded. He frankly confesses that it

would be much better for China to pay down the stipulated sum at once, than to continue spending a still larger sum in a vain endeavour to protract the war; and he particularly alludes to the advantages which would be obtained if the *blockade* were immediately raised. He even has the boldness to express his fears, that, if peace be not made at once, the rivers "will be blocked up, *both north and south*" (meaning particularly the Peiho), which, he adds, "*will be the heaviest calamity.*" He consoles himself that, as yet, their *reputation* was not lost;" and shrewdly remarks, that one year's expenses of the army alone would equal one-third of the whole sum to be paid to the English, and that even then they would only use the *name* of fighting, without the hope of victory. With regard to the trade at the *five* ports, he considers them too many; but then, he adds, "if we do not concede it, the English will not restore to us Amoy, Chinhae, and Chusan, and it would be a difficult matter for us to get them back."

Throughout the whole of this remarkable Report, even with respect to equality of terms in official intercourse, and the surrender of all the prisoners, both English and Chinese, the whole tone of this interesting document is that of deep humiliation, artfully attempted to be concealed under the garb of almost voluntary concession.

The time which elapsed between the sending up of the draft of the treaty for submission to the Emperor, and its return with the Imperial assent, was partially occupied by visits of ceremony between the High Commissioners and the British Plenipotentiary. On the

19th, the former paid their first visit on board the Cornwallis, having been conveyed thither from the mouth of the canal, on board the little Medusa steamer. They were received on board by the Plenipotentiary, supported by the Admiral and General, and, after having partaken of refreshments, were conducted round the ship, every part of which they inspected, but without *expressing* any particular astonishment (whatever they might have felt), which in China is considered ill-bred.

I have heard it said by some who were present on this occasion, that the Commissioners appeared more struck with the fact of *boys*, midshipmen, wearing uniform, and learning the art of war so young, than with any thing else. I think it was Elepoo who had the curiosity to examine the dress of one of the youngsters; as much as to say, that he would be much better at school, imbibing the "doctrines of pure reason," than learning how to fight so young, on board a man-of-war. The same remark had also been made, on another occasion, by Keshen, at Canton, respecting the young Mr. Grey; and, I believe, a remark very much like it was made by the predecessor of the present Emperor to Sir George Staunton, who was then a boy.

The Commissioners were accompanied by New Kien, the Viceroy, and also by the Tartar general.

On the 22nd, the visit was returned by Sir Henry Pottinger, accompanied by the Commanders-in-chief, and attended by upwards of a hundred officers, in full uniform. They were escorted by a guard of honour of the grenadiers of the 18th Royal Irish. The place of

meeting was at the temple outside the walls, at which the previous conferences respecting the production of the Imperial Commission had been held. It was an imposing and interesting scene; the number and variety of the costumes, contrasted with the uniforms of our officers, and the novelty of the spectacle altogether, could not fail to make a deep impression upon all present.

The manners of the Chinese are remarkably elegant and dignified, whenever they choose to make them so; and yet they seem never to omit an opportunity of trying to gain some advantage in point of etiquette. On this occasion, inquiry was properly made by Sir Henry Pottinger, as to the reason of the plainness of the dresses of the mandarins who were in attendance. The ingenious excuse, that they had travelled in such a hurry as to have been unable to bring their wardrobe with them, was employed to account for the apparent want of courtesy, and apologies were tendered for the omission.

On the 26th, a conference was held *within* the walls of Nankin itself, between Sir Henry Pottinger and the Commissioners, and the terms of the treaty were again read and discussed. Sir Henry was escorted by a guard mounted upon the Arab horses brought from Madras for the artillery. Little could have been seen of the city upon this occasion, as the procession passed directly up to one of the public halls, and returned by the same route. The bearing of the people was perfectly quiet and orderly; and the mark of confidence on both sides shown by the visit of the Commissioners on board the Cornwallis, and of the Plenipotentiary within the

the Chinese by cultivating their good feelings, not by offending their prejudices, and by treating them with consideration, firmness, and *scrupulous honesty*.

The Consuls at the five ports will have arduous and responsible duties to perform, and very much must depend upon their tact and judgment. The Chinese are not only a prejudiced but a *timid* people; they require to be led rather by good management and scrupulous faith, than to be irritated by overbearing manner, or forced into dishonesty by the constant suspicion of it. During the existence of the Company's charter, the mark of the Company was considered by the Chinese as an unfailing guarantee of the genuine character and quality of the articles, in accordance with the description given of them. The mark no longer exists, and the Chinese merchants have not that implicit faith in the written description of our goods which they formerly had. It is impossible to be too scrupulous in maintaining our character for strict integrity and fair dealing; and it is to be hoped that these will be kept strictly in view, more especially in the new ports just opened to us.

As to any disposition on the part of the government to reassume their ancient bearing towards us, I cannot believe that there have been hitherto any grounds whatever for the supposition. It is true, that the government are taking steps to repair their defences, and to improve their warlike means, and they have also given orders for the construction of a better description of vessels of war. It is also perfectly well known that large contributions have been voluntarily offered

by wealthy individuals, and by patriotic districts, avowedly for the "defence of the frontiers." But nothing can be inferred from this, except that a little more energy has been infused into the councils of the Emperor, and a *little* of the prejudices of the people modified.

On the other hand, every single act of the Chinese government, since the conclusion of the peace, has been strictly in accordance both with the letter and the spirit of the treaty; and we have only to look at the tariff itself, with all its astonishing changes from the old corrupt system, and the adoption of the wholesome regulations respecting the trading at the five ports, (at each of which a small English vessel of war is to be stationed) to feel convinced that the Chinese government is beginning to be fully alive to the advantages of more extensive and friendly intercourse with us; that the people are likewise well inclined towards us; and that it rests with *ourselves* to improve the present good understanding, by judicious forbearance and consideration.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Nankin—Porcelain tower—Description of—Portrait of the head priest—Tombs of the kings—Colossal statues—Figures of animals—Antique remains—Remarks on the history of the Ming dynasty—Disputes with the Japanese and Mantchous—How the Mantchous, or Tartars, came to the throne—Institutions of China preserved after the conquest—Efficient government—Our forces leave Nankin—Dreadful sickness—Bengal Volunteers—Descent of the river—Forces reassemble at Hong Kong—Riots at Canton—Character of the people—Origin of the outbreak—English ladies in Canton—Patriots—Attack upon the factories—English flag-staff—Arrival of Sir Hugh Gough—The Nemesis—Chinese troops occupy the factories—Correspondence between Sir Henry Pottinger and the merchants—Critical position—Visit of the Prefect and the Hong merchants to the Nemesis—Quiet restored—Departure of our forces.

The two most interesting objects which deserve attention outside the walls of Nankin are, of course, the famous porcelain tower, or pagoda, and the tombs of the kings of the ancient Chinese dynasty. Of the former it would be extremely difficult to give such a description as would convey to the reader's mind an accurate idea of its peculiar structure and character. It stands pre-eminent above all other similar buildings in China for its completeness and elegance, the quality of the material of which it is built, or rather with

which it is faced over, namely, variously coloured porcelain bricks, highly glazed; and for the quantity of gilding, and particularly of gilt images, with which its interior is embellished.

The building is of an octagonal shape, about two hundred feet high, divided into nine stories. The circumference of the lower story is one hundred and twenty feet, so that each face must measure about fifteen feet; but this measurement decreases as you ascend, although each story is of equal height. Its base rests upon a solid foundation of brick-work, raised about ten feet above the ground, and you ascend to the entrance of the tower by a flight of twelve steps. Its face is covered with slabs of glazed porcelain of various colours, principally green, red, yellow, and white; but the whole building is not, by any means, constructed with porcelain. At every story there is a projecting roof, covered with green-glazed tiles, and from each of its eight corners is suspended a small bell.

The effect of this building, when viewed from a moderate distance, cannot be otherwise than imposing, from the novelty and peculiarity of its appearance. You ascend to the top of it by no less than one hundred and ninety steps, leading through the different compartments, but they are not all in very good repair. The interior of each story appears at first view striking, but is rather gaudy than elegant, being filled with an immense number of little gilded images, placed in niches, in each of the compartments, between the windows.

The view from the summit of this temple amply com-

pensates you for all the trouble of reaching it, and for any little disappointment that may have been felt at the appearance of the interior of the building. The property extends over an area of nearly thirty miles, and a great part of this is enclosed within the ruins of a dilapidated wall. The country is beautifully diversified by hill and dale, and houses and cultivated grounds; yet, in some parts, it looks almost deserted. Yet it cannot be viewed without great interest, not only from the appearance of the country, but from the associations connected with the locality, and with the tower itself. This latter is said to have cost an immense sum of money (seven or eight hundred thousand pounds), and to have occupied nineteen years in its completion.

A not unnatural desire to possess specimens or relics, as mementos of the first and probably the last visit to the ancient capital of the empire, led to a few instances of defacement and injury to some parts of the building, and to many of the figures within it. But the complaints made upon the subject afterwards by the head priest of the tower, or of the monastery attached to it, seem to have been a good deal exaggerated, probably in the hope of obtaining handsome compensation. It was notorious that a great part of the specimens which were carried away were actually sold to visiters by the priests themselves. A complaint, however, was made upon the subject to Sir Henry Pottinger, and at his request measures were adopted to prevent any recurrence of the violence; and, indeed, with the laudable object of encouraging a good understanding with the Chinese, and of doing what, under the circumstances, appeared to be

an act of justice, a considerable sum of money was paid over to the chief priest, or abbot, of the monastery, to be applied to the restoration and decoration of the building. It much exceeded the actual value of the damage done.

The portrait of the priest of the porcelain tower, in the first volume, was taken by Lieutenant White, of the Royal Marines, and gives an excellent notion of the peculiar features and expression of countenance, which distinguish, not merely the Chinamen, but the Budhist priest.

Another object of very great interest, which engaged attention at Nankin, was the large and extremely ancient cemetery, which apparently, without sufficiently well-ascertained grounds, came to be called the Tombs of the Kings, supposed to be of the Ming dynasty. They were situated on the slope of the hills, at no great distance from the principal gate of the city, at the extremity of a fine paved road.

But, perhaps, still more curious is the avenue of gigantic figures, most of them hewn from a solid piece of stone, which leads up towards the tombs. Nothing else of the kind was seen in China, and they bore all the appearance of extreme antiquity; the grass grew very high among them, and served to conceal the fragments of some which had been broken. The engraving, which forms the frontispiece to this volume, will convey a better idea of them than any written description. It is taken from an admirable sketch, drawn on the spot, by Captain Watson, R.N., C.B. The figures bear the appearance of gigantic warriors, cased in a kind of

armour, standing on either side of the road, across which, at intervals, large stone tablets are extended, supported by large blocks of stone in place of pillars, such as are frequently seen on the roads leading to temples in China, and occasionally across the streets, erected in honour of particular individuals.

In the drawing are represented a number of colossal figures of horses, elephants, zebras, and other animals, rudely executed, and placed without any distinct arrangement. Properly speaking, they are situated at a considerable distance from the alley of giants, but have been introduced to give an effective representation of the whole. There is something peculiarly Egyptian in the appearance of them all, and one could rather imagine that the scene was laid in the vicinity of Thebes than under the walls of Nankin. It tends, in some measure, to strengthen the opinion of those who have endeavoured to trace a connection between China and Egypt, at a very remote period of their history. It was impossible to view these gigantic figures under the walls (and formerly *within* them), of the ancient capital of China, without great astonishment, and a disposition to hazard speculations of various kinds concerning the early history of the spot where they are found.

A few words may not be uninteresting in this place concerning the Ming dynasty, and the ancient capital of Nankin. The kings of that dynasty sat upon the throne something more than two hundred and fifty years, namely, from about the middle of the fourteenth century until the Tartar conquest, which may be dated from about 1644, just two centuries ago. The whole

period of the reign of the Mings seems to have been one of turbulence, bloodshed, and war—at one time with the Monguls, at another with the Japanese — not unfrequently with each other, and sometimes with the Tartars, who ultimately prevailed.

The mode of carrying on war appears to have differed little then from what it has been in more modern times; large armies collected, and easily dispersed, without striking a blow; thundering edicts of extermination, without power to carry them into effect; and great boastings of victories gained, when, literally, no battle had been fought. Nankin was more than once besieged, and the sea-coast was ravaged, both by foreign and native marauders and pirates. Then came the strict prohibitions against holding any intercourse with foreigners, which, like the edicts against opium, were put "on record," but remained, for a great length of time, a perfect dead letter.

The Japanese appear at one time to have been formidable enemies; they made their way up to Nankin, and other cities, took possession of Chusan, ravaged the coast of Fokien, and visited nearly all the same places which were the scenes of our own operations during the war. The Chinese readily called to mind the history of those troublesome times, and were inclined, in the first instance, to believe that we were nothing more than lawless plunderers, seeking our own profit, instead of being servants of a great nation, seeking redress for innumerable wrongs.

The race of the Mantchous (from which the reigning dynasty springs) became troublesome towards the end

of the sixteenth century. Their first disputes seem to have arisen concerning *trade*. They were permitted to trade, and to enjoy certain commercial privileges upon the frontier, but hence arose disputes and quarrellings, which called for the interference of the public officers; and wrongs, supposed to have been suffered, were treasured up, in the hope of being able to execute vengeance at a future opportunity. For a time the Mantchous were kept in subjection, and those who fell into the hands of the Chinese were treated with the greatest severity. It is worthy of remark, however, that, generally speaking, the Chinese, in all their dealings, seem to have preferred *diplomacy* to fighting; and in the excellent papers in the Chinese Repository upon this subject, it is observed, with respect particularly to the Japanese, that "the war lasted more than thirty years, the Chinese were usually worsted, yet their generals boasted of their victories, while their most numerous armies were dispersed by almost a handful of men. But when the Chinese *inveigled the Japanese into negociations*, they gained the ascendant." "The latter were inclined to make lasting peace, but were always thwarted by the *treachery* of the Chinese envoys."

The Japanese, however, were at length persuaded to retire, and to receive the investiture of the realm from a Chinese commissioner. Not so, however, the more formidable Mantchous. The Chinese were unable effectually to resist them; and yet one of the best ministers, who had the courage to advise peace at all risks, was publicly beheaded as a traitor.

The Tartar conquest was essentially aided by the in-

ternal feuds among the Chinese themselves. Robbers and rebellious chiefs started up within the empire, and threatened to attack the capital; and the last of the Emperors of the Ming dynasty at length hung himself in his own palace, through fear and despair, when he found himself unable to control his own rebellious people, or resist the power of the Mantchou Tartars.

This monarch seems to have been a pattern of irresolution and cowardice. His death occurred in the imperial palace at Pekin, not at Nankin; and it is to be remarked, that although the Tartar dynasty have always made Pekin the capital of the empire, and that Nankin has comparatively fallen to a very low state, nevertheless Pekin was made the capital, or rather the northern capital, long before the Tartar conquest; but Nankin, at that time, still retained a great portion of its ancient importance.

Whether the burial-place already described, and so much distinguished beyond all other cemeteries by its rude colossal statues, was really the burial-place of the ancient kings or not, it is impossible now to ascertain. It gives it, however, a pleasing interest to believe that it was so, although it certainly was not the cemetery of *all* the kings, even of the Ming dynasty.

The Mantchou race came to the throne under remarkable circumstances. They were called in to *assist* one of the claimants to the throne, after the death of the last of the Mings; having gained the victory over all opponents, the Mantchous refused to return to their own country, and boldly marched up to the gates of Pekin, where they were gladly welcomed by the people.

They soon made themselves masters of the city. Their leader unfortunately died, and the Mantchous then proclaimed his nephew, who was quite a child, Emperor of China. From this period the dynasty of the Mantchous have succeeded in maintaining themselves upon the throne, namely, from about the year 1644.

Several claimants to the throne, from among the descendants of the Ming family, started up at various times, but, in a few years, they were completely overcome throughout the whole empire, and most of them were killed. It is supposed, however, that descendants of that family still exist in China, but they do not make themselves known; nor is it likely that the Chinese would now interest themselves in the slightest degree in procuring their restoration to the throne, in opposition to the Mantchous.

China has by no means retrograded under the dominion of its new sovereigns; it is more wealthy, more populous, and more consolidated than at any other period of its history. It has enjoyed a longer interval of peace than it ever did before; and the system of government is, perhaps, better adapted to the wants and habits of the people than any other would be. The machinery of government has differed little from that of their predecessors, but they have shown more vigour in its administration; and there is one remarkable feature in it, that the emperors have never trusted the members of their own family, or committed power into their hands. The latter have, in fact, been the pensioners of imperial bounty, and have lived, as it were, under surveillance within the palace.

It is remarkable that the Tartars, instead of altering the institutions of China, conformed themselves to the laws and customs pre-existing in the country; so that China, in reality, changed neither its manners, its institutions, its social habits, nor its language, by the conquest, but simply its rulers. This fell in completely with the views of Mencius, their greatest philosopher next to Confucius, who says in his works, "I have heard of the barbarians being improved by the Chinese, but I never heard of the Chinese being improved by the barbarians." When we remember that the present empire of China extends over an area of three millions of square miles, and that this immense territory, with its hundreds of millions of inhabitants, is ruled by one man, whose authority radiates from Pekin, as the centre, to the extreme points of his dominions, we must admit that there must exist great regularity, comprehensiveness of system, and efficiency of government, which can hold so vast an empire together, and keep its machinery in proper motion.

Little remains to be said concerning the rest of the short period of the detention of our forces at Nankin. On the 15th of September, the Emperor's positive assent to the treaty, signed by his Commissioners on the 29th of August, was received at Nankin; and there now appeared to be every certainty that the peace would be of a lasting nature.

All were now anxious to quit the river without delay, in which so many brave men had already found a grave, through sickness. Every ship was full of invalids; in many of them full one-third of the crew were unable to

work, and in some even more. The officers appeared to suffer equally with the men; and on this account some of the transports were in a pitiable condition. The recovery of the men was extremely slow, and, even after the fever was apparently cured, relapses were very frequent. There are no means, however, of ascertaining the actual number of deaths which occurred, but in some ships they were numerous. Among the troops, the 98th regiment and the Bengal Volunteers suffered the most; but the latter were affected more by their confinement on board ship, and by the voluntary starvation to which they submitted, on account of the prejudices of their religion, than by the mere effect of climate. They principally suffered from dysentery, occasioned by their abstinence from proper food. Most of them being Rajpoots, high caste Hindoos, they were prohibited by their superstition from eating any food cooked on board ship. Dry rice and gram (a shrivelled pea, of which sheep and cattle are very fond), constituted almost the only food they would eat, and edible tobacco their only luxury. Medicine could afford little aid to men under these circumstances; and they preferred death to the violation of their religious feelings; indeed it was not until the survivors reached Hong Kong, and were sent ashore to live in tents, in order to be able to cook proper food for themselves, that they began to recover strength enough to enable them to support the remainder of the voyage to Calcutta.

While the Hindoos suffered thus severely, the few Mohammedans who were in the regiment escaped almost without sickness, and there was scarcely a death amongst

them. A finer regiment than the Bengal Volunteers, when they arrived in China only a few weeks before, nine hundred strong, could hardly be seen. They were even seven hundred and fifty strong when they landed at Nankin, after having been in action at Chin-Keang; and yet, when the regiment arrived in Calcutta, there were less than four hundred survivors. Indeed, there were little more than three hundred upon the field when they were reviewed at Barrackpore, with the rest of the garrison, by Sir Hugh Gough.

Before leaving Nankin, the ceremony of conferring the order of the Grand Cross of the Bath upon Sir Hugh Gough was performed on board the Cornwallis, with all the attendant marks of honour. As it was directed that it should take place in the most public manner possible, the high Chinese officers were invited to attend, and every preparation was made to give éclat to the proceedings. Very few of the Chinese came to witness it, but a few were sufficient to make known to their countrymen generally, that great honours were being conferred upon the English General, for his successes against their best troops. A speech was of course made by Sir Henry Pottinger, on presenting the decoration, full of handsome and well-deserved eulogy, and was replied to with evident feeling by the venerable Sir Hugh Gough. Salutes were fired, the band played, and every thing passed off very gaily; and refreshments in the Admiral's cabin served to warm the hearts of the Chinese visiters even towards their recent enemies.

As soon as it became generally known among the Chinese that the Emperor's assent to all our terms had

been received, and that lasting peace was to be established between the two nations, the people generally, both in the suburbs and in the neighbourhood of the city, became very friendly and well-disposed. Even the soldiers looked down and smiled from the city walls; and on one occasion, as a party was returning from a visit to the Porcelain Tower, upon the top of which they had drank to the health of the Queen of England, and lasting peace with China, in champagne, they went close up to one of the gates, upon the battlements of which a number of Tartar soldiers were standing, looking quietly on. They hailed the Tartars good-humouredly, and some cigars were offered to them, which they seemed inclined to accept; then a bottle of champagne was held out to them, and they soon procured a basket, which they let down to receive the welcome presents, with which they appeared much pleased. Shortly afterwards a military mandarin made his appearance, and seemed very angry at the incident, complaining that it was not right to attempt to *bribe* his men.

Towards the end of September, the different transports and ships of war began to move down the river. The steamers were now almost entirely supplied with Nankin coal, immense heaps of which were found regularly stored up along the banks of the river, nearly in front of the city.

Enormous piles of excellent firewood were also found very near the coal depôts, so that there was no inconvenience whatever from the want of fuel. This is a matter of the utmost importance, as, in case of our being under the necessity of paying a second visit to Nankin, it is

satisfactory to know beforehand that fuel for steamers can be procured on the spot.

It is here worth while to mention also, that for nearly a year and a half the Nemesis had eight Chinamen on board, as firemen and stokers. They were originally handed over from the Wellesley, at Chusan; the temptation of twelve dollars each, per month, induced them to enter on board the Nemesis, and they did their work remarkably well. They were not discharged until the Nemesis carried them down to Canton, to which place they belonged, but they never were *compelled* to remain, nor were they called upon to go in the boats to fight. But, whenever a place was captured, and a little plunder was to be got, they were always anxious enough to go ashore, and proved themselves most expert thieves. Indeed, this was one of the inducements for them to continue in the Nemesis. Nevertheless, they appeared not to show the slightest sympathy for their countrymen, and one of them even volunteered to go ashore armed, in company with our seamen, in order, as he said, to be able to "have a crack at a mandarin." In fact, the people of the north and south of China have no fellow-feeling for each other, and the inhabitants of different provinces seem to be often as opposed to each other in their prejudices, as if they almost belonged to different nations.

The descent of the river was in some respects more difficult for the squadron than the ascent, particularly as the buoys, which had been laid down to mark the channel, had been removed by the Chinese in the interim. Under these circumstances, and in the absence

of proper charts of the river, it is highly creditable to the transports that they all succeeded in getting down without any serious accident. Steamers generally went ahead, and gave the soundings by signal, notwithstanding which, most of the ships got aground several times. The weather was now very unsettled and hazy, as the north-east monsoon was just setting in, and this added, of course, to the difficulty.

The Plenipotentiary, together with the Admiral and General, paid a visit to Shanghai, on their arrival at Woosung; and the arrangements respecting the ransom of the town, which was to be considered as part of the money paid under the terms of the treaty, were now completed, and the money was shipped; by this payment, the first instalment of 6,000,000 dollars was completed.

At the end of October, the whole of the fleet had finally quitted the Yangtze Keang, and were assembled in the beautiful harbours of Chusan. I never remember to have witnessed so pictusesque and striking a scene as was there presented to view. Both the outer and inner harbours were crowded with men-of-war, transports, and steamers. It rarely falls to any one to have the good fortune to witness so large a fleet assembled together. The troops on board the transports, the boats constantly passing and repassing, the bands playing, and the perfect good feeling and friendliness which prevailed throughout our forces, both between the army and navy, and between the different corps and ships individually, made a cheerful impression upon all, and added greatly to the

real satisfaction derived from the glorious termination of the war.

While at Chusan, the Plenipotentiary issued a very important proclamation, prohibiting all English merchant vessels from going to any of the ports newly opened by the treaty, until the tariffs and scale of duties should be fixed, and the proper machinery prepared both by the Chinese and the English governments, for conducting the trade. These regulations and the tariff have now at length been published by Sir Henry Pottinger, and evince, in no ordinary degree, both his talents as a diplomatist (for it must have required no little tact and judgment to have enabled him to obtain these concessions from the Chinese), and his clear discernment and energy, as a man of business.

While the fleet was detained at Chusan, the Nemesis was once more hauled on shore for repairs, having been a good deal shaken by the heavy work she had done in the river; on careful examination, however, she was found less injured than had been expected, and gave strong proof of the advantage of iron steamers in river service.

About the middle of November nearly all our ships had reassembled at Hong Kong. It was a most animated and bustling scene, and during the two or three weeks in which our forces were detained there, the Chinese reaped a rich harvest, from the sale of Chinese manufactures and curiosities, which were eagerly sought for.

From various causes, our forces were detained at Hong Kong longer than had been expected, and in some

respects it happened fortunately, although the weather had become excessively cold and trying for the men. On the 7th of December disturbances took place at Canton, which resulted in the total destruction of the old company's factory, the Dutch factory (occupied by American merchants), and the adjacent extensive buildings, called the Creek Hong. As this event produced great alarm in the minds of the foreign residents in China, and even produced an impression upon the minds of mercantile people at a distance, who were, in consequence, led to doubt the practicability of maintaining peaceable relations with the Chinese for any length of time, some few details will be necessary.

It is proper to remark that the community of Canton differs in many respects from that of any other part of China. Long accustomed to a profitable intercourse with foreigners, and encouraged by their government to look upon them as an inferior, or, at all events, a less favoured race, arrogant also in proportion to their ignorance, they could not reconcile to themselves the advantageous terms which had been exacted, as the price of peace, from the Emperor; and forgetting the numerous lessons they had been taught in the Canton river, they believed they could still have succeeded against the foreigner, had their professed patriotism been appealed to, and their proud spirit permitted to pour forth its vengeance.

It is also to be remembered that, in a large commercial city like Canton, a great number of bad and discontented characters are collected from all quarters. Its reputation for wealth made it a desirable field for the

adventurer; while the prospect of the loss of a great portion of its trade served to produce a general discontent among the residents. Every great change, however, is commonly attended with some difficulty at first; nor was it likely that the people of Canton could readily forget the day when our troops dictated terms for the ransom of the city, from the heights above it. Moreover, a great part of them really believed that they had been *betrayed*, and that treachery or bribery had been used, rather to favour *us* than to spare the city; while they scarcely doubted that the large bodies of militia, or self-styled patriots, who continued to hover about the rear of Sir Hugh Gough's army while upon the heights, would have sufficed to have driven him back again to his ships. Such was the effect of popular ignorance and vanity.

For some days previous to the actual disturbances, there had been rumours of an intended rising against the English. Hints were given by some of the people of the establishments belonging to the Hong merchants, that something unusual would happen, and, in fact, that people were combining together for no good ostensible purpose. I happened to be at Canton at the time, and could not help noticing the eagerness with which the crowds of passers-by were reading anonymous placards pasted upon the walls, in the narrow streets at the back of the factories. These documents professed to publish the sentiments of the patriotic gentry and people belonging to the neighbourhood of Canton. They misstated the terms of the treaty, and asserted the belief, that foreigners were hereafter coming to build houses for themselves at Canton, and to reside there *with their*

families. This was, in fact, the great object of their dread, or rather this was the principal argument they used to endeavour to rouse the people generally to resist, "and not to allow a single foreigner to remain."

The promiscuous *residence* of foreigners in China was certainly never contemplated by the terms of the treaty, but there was a report at Canton (whether well-founded or not I cannot say), that *somebody* (said to to be an American), did at one time actually propose to purchase land of the Chinese at Honan, opposite the factories, for the purpose of building on it. And a further support was given to the suppositions of the Chinese, by the appearance of three or four English ladies (wives of captains of ships at Whampoa) in the streets of Canton.

I remember well what a sensation it created, when these ladies were seen proceeding up China Street, accompanied by their children (and, of course, by their husbands). The novelty of their dress and personal appearance was the least part of the business. It was an infraction of all the established usages of the Chinese; for not only had no foreign ladies been hitherto seen in the streets, but not even Chinese ladies are ever to be seen in public, except in sedan-chairs. On this occasion, the people offered neither violence nor insult, and, indeed, a few policemen were stationed close to the factories, to prevent the pressure of the crowd. In the evening they embarked again in their boats, and proceeded down the river.

There is no question that this little incident had a very bad effect upon the feelings of the Chinese. As a

proof of this, it is right to mention that the same persons again came up a few days afterwards, and resided with their husbands in one of the factories, and that *that very factory* was the first attacked, and unquestionably the object was to drive out the foreign ladies, as much as it was to plunder. They escaped, with the utmost difficulty and danger, by a back way, and were received into one of the Hong merchant's warehouses until they could be conveyed down the river. But the mob destroyed and tore into shreds every article of their wardrobe which they could find.

In justice to the Chinese, and to the very proper and cautious measures adopted by Sir Henry Pottinger, this incident cannot be omitted. But the mob evidently had its leaders; and many of the people were said to be provided with little bags of gunpowder, for the purpose of setting fire to the buildings. There was certainly some preconcerted scheme or other, although the occurrence of the outbreak on that *particular day* was a matter of accident.

Nevertheless, when we remember that, on more than one previous occasion, disturbances had occurred, and that a great part of the factories had already once been burnt down, we wonder the less at the recurrence of an outrage in a city such as Canton. Disputes first arose in the early part of the day (7th December) between a number of Lascars, who were on leave from Whampoa, and some of the shopkeepers of Canton. The Lascars are generally allowed to trade a little on their own private account, and are in the habit of carrying back to India a great variety of articles, of little cost, pur-

chased in China. On this occasion, a very large number of them were allowed to come up to Canton together; hard bargains were driven, and doubtless there were faults on both sides. High words soon led to blows and squabbles in some of the back streets; the disturbance naturally increased by the accession of recruits to both sides, stones flew and sticks were used, and at length the Lascars were driven out of the back streets into one of the unoccupied hongs, called the Creek Hong, which still remained unrepaired since the general pillage of the factories in the previous year.

For some time, both parties remained quiet, and probably those Chinamen who commenced the disturbance had little to do with what afterwards happened. Towards evening, numbers of suspicious-looking people began to collect together, in front of the factories. Something serious was now anticipated, and the European residents began to barricade their doors and windows, and to endeavour to secure their books and treasure as well as they could. One of the first objects upon which an attack was made by the mob was the British flag-staff in the Company's garden, into which they forced their way. The staff was soon set on fire (there was no flag), and the blaze was followed by a general shout.

The British factory, which was then undergoing repair, was the next object of violence. The workmen within it defended it for some time, but the mob at last got in, and were thus enabled to force their way from the balcony into the adjoining building (formerly part of the Company's hong), in which the

ladies were staying with their friends. Fortunately, however, they had already been conveyed away to a place of safety.

Elated with success, the mob gradually attacked the other adjoining factories, particularly that which was formerly occupied by the Dutch, but which was then rented by an American firm. Here a stand was made with firearms against the invaders for some time, and two or three of them were shot. At length, however, they prevailed; and the American gentlemen had a narrow escape in reaching their boats, but were only able to save a small quantity of the treasure.

Gradually the crowd increased, as the night set in; parts of the factories were already on fire, and if the wind had been high, instead of being nearly calm, it is impossible to say where the destruction would have stopped, in a city like Canton.

It will be asked whether no attempt was made by the Chinese authorities to disperse the mob. For some time they seem to have been actually themselves *afraid* of encountering the mob; and a small party of police-runners and soldiers, who were sent down in the first instance, were said to have been driven off. It must not be supposed that all, or even a quarter part, of the foreign factories were burnt down. None of the rest were injured, except those situated between Hog Lane and the Creek. Towards morning the mob began to be satiated with what they had done, and a large body of soldiers coming down into the square in front of the factories, headed by their proper officers, soon managed to enforce quiet. They retained possession of the

square, and pitched their tents, as if they were to be stationed there for some time.

The alarm created by these violent proceedings among the foreign community was of course very great indeed. Many were at first inclined to think that it was only the commencement of a series of similar outrages, which would lead to a rupture of the peace. When the report of what had happened first reached Macao and Hong Kong, it was considered almost too serious to be believed; or at least it was thought to be very much exaggerated. But when the truth of the whole previous account came to be ascertained, it gave rise to a sort of dread of some great disaster, and it was thought that it would be impossible to carry on the trade in future except under the protection of our guns.

Whatever the plans of the Chinese may have been, the arrival of the Proserpine steamer on the following morning at Canton tended very much to reassure the European community. Sir Hugh Gough had requested to be conveyed in her to Canton, merely for the purpose of visiting the town, and it was quite a matter of fortunate accident that she arrived there just when she was most wanted. Communications passed between Sir Hugh Gough and the authorities, who gave every assurance of their desire to maintain tranquillity. But the difficulty was, as to their *power* to carry out their own wishes. It was doubted whether their soldiers could be depended on, and Sir Hugh Gough, therefore, acceded to the request of the merchants, to allow the Proserpine to remain off the factories until communications could be received from Sir Henry Pottinger.

In every point of view, this was now a very critical moment. A single false move, or one hasty step, would have led to collision and difficulty, and might have endangered the existence of the peace for which we had so long been struggling. The utmost caution and good judgment were required to allay the angry feelings on both sides; and it would have ill become us to have assumed the appearance of almost inviting the renewal of a collision with a proud susceptible government, when their high officers declared themselves "both willing and able to control their own people, and to protect foreigners."

The merchants at Canton addressed Sir Henry Pottinger, with a view to obtain from him protection for their persons and property while carrying on their trade at Canton; they expressed their firm belief that there was a prevailing spirit of hostility to the English among certain classes in Canton, by whom the mob were influenced, and that unless *armed protection* (amounting in reality to armed *intervention*) were afforded to them, it would be impossible for them to carry on their business, except through the means of American agency. But this kind of assistance was generally deprecated by the merchants, as tending not only to throw business into the hands of the Americans for the time, but also to establish it permanently in their favour, to the detriment of our own mercantile interests.

It cannot be denied that, after the commencement of the war, the business of the American merchants had increased almost tenfold; indeed, the American houses occupied by far the greater part of all the factories.

Many of them, in the first instance, acted only as agents for the English merchants in China, but gradually they became the correspondents of our merchants and manufacturers *at home* and elsewhere; so that, besides the vast increase of American business with *America*, there had grown up a prodigious extent of American agency with England.

But this was in fact one of the natural consequences of the war, and could only be counteracted by a cessation of war—that is, by absolute *peace*. It is evident, however, that it would be any thing but a peaceable mode of conducting commerce, to carry it on under the protection of our guns, after peace was proclaimed; nor could it fail to keep alive those very feelings of irritation which it was so desirable to pacify, while it might engender new difficulties, the result of which could not be foreseen; though the protection asked for was only of a temporary kind.

The reply of Sir Henry Pottinger to the merchants was a long and harshly expressed document. It seemed to have been written on the spur of the moment, and probably another day's reflection would have softened its terms. It amounted in fact to a *rebuke*, addressed to the merchants; part of which had little reference to the matter in question. The impression of the Plenipotentiary seems to have been, that the *foreign* community were altogether in the wrong; and his Excellency certainly had in view the extensive, and one may almost say acknowledged, smuggling, not only of opium, but of every description of exports and imports which were liable to duty, in the Canton river.

This abuse had reached an enormous height, and the local officers were in a great measure privy to it; but the systematic manner in which it was conducted on our side was undoubtedly a source of great annoyance and perplexity to Sir Henry Pottinger. It was not confined to the well-armed and well-appointed opium vessels, which were then lying even at Whampoa, but there was every kind of evasion of duties openly carried on, even to that of the duties payable on the ships themselves.

It cannot be denied that cargoes were transshipped *at night*, from vessels which had paid the charges, into smaller ones which had not done so, and which then removed lower down the river. The full knowledge of these facts certainly had its effect in suggesting the *tone* of some part of Sir Henry's letter. In other respects, nothing could be more firm and positive than the reply to the actual request made for armed protection. "I need only remark," he adds, "that I should and shall very truly regret the loss and inconvenience to which you would be exposed by being forced to withdraw from Canton. I trust, however, that it will be averted through the measures which I have in view; but I must at once finally, most explicitly, and candidly acquaint you, that no conceivable circumstances should induce me to place her Majesty's government in so false and undignified a position, as I should consider it *would* be placed in, were I to send troops and ships of war to Canton, *in opposition to the request and wishes of the local government.*"

It was undoubtedly a critical moment of our inter-

course with the Chinese; and, therefore, we may now ask what steps Sir Henry Pottinger *did* take upon this occasion. He addressed a letter upon the subject to the Viceroy of Canton, and sent it up by the Nemesis. It would be difficult to say that this was not the wisest and most dignified course to pursue. If the Viceroy should declare either his inability or his unwillingness to protect the foreign community, then indeed would be the proper time for intervention, in order to secure to them that protection which they needed.

Captain Hall had previously gone up as a passenger in the Proserpine, with Captain Hough, to Canton; but the moment it was ascertained that the Nemesis had passed the Bogue, in charge of his chief officer, he went down to meet her, and brought her safely straight up to Canton from Whampoa, passing through the passage between the stakes below Napier's fort, and then taking the left-hand passage, by the low alluvial island. The Proserpine had previously, for the first time, been carried up the right-hand passage. Both of these lead up to nearly the same point, opposite the French Folly.

Great was the rejoicing of all the foreigners at Canton, the moment they recognized their old friend the Nemesis approaching. And who that had once seen her could ever mistake her appearance, with her two huge eyes upon the bows, in true Chinese fashion!

On this occasion, the captains of the merchant-vessels at Whampoa volunteered to lend their services, if necessary. There was great uncertainty as to what might happen, and it was reported that an attempt would be

made upon the steamer at night. It was not forgotten that on former occasions fire-rafts had been sent down the river to destroy the shipping, and it was necessary that the Nemesis and Proserpine should be prepared. The assistance of two boats only was accepted, one from the William Money, under Captain Bickford, and another from the Edinburgh, under Captain Paterson. Both boats were well armed and manned, and were of great use in guarding against a surprise.

Mr. Medhurst had come up in the Nemesis, as interpreter, in charge of Sir Henry Pottinger's letter to the Viceroy; and the question now was, to whom, or through whom, was it to be delivered? It was satisfactory to observe that a great number of Chinese soldiers were encamped on the ground in front of the factories, for the protection of the foreigners. They were evidently some of their best soldiers, for they were well-dressed and properly armed. Each tent was appropriated to about six men; and one of their large, long shields, placed upright, served as a door to each; their arms were all in readiness, and sentries were placed. As for the men themselves, their only occupation or amusement seemed to be gambling all the day long.

At first the Hong merchants proposed to receive the letter, but that was, of course, objected to. Then the Kwang-chow-foo, or Prefect, wished it to be handed over to him on shore, but that was also refused. It was intimated that it could only be delivered to him on the quarter-deck of the steamer. At length a mandarin, who spoke a little English, having formerly been

employed in one of the Hong merchant's establishments, came alongside, and proposed that Captain Hall should go into the Prefect's boat, and *there* deliver the letter, under the pretence that the Prefect was an *old man*, and could not get up the ship's side. All these were little attempts at evasion to save his dignity. It was, however, insisted that the Prefect should come on board the Nemesis, and *there* receive the communication, and he might bring as many of the Hong merchants with him as he pleased.

At length, finding that nothing was to be gained by further delay, and that the days of paying court to the Prefect were now long past, he stepped upon the quarter-deck of the steamer, accompanied by most of the Hong merchants. They were all conducted into the cabin, and were treated with plenty of cherry brandy, which served to dispel their fears, and put them into a good humour.

The letter was delivered in due form, with an intimation that it was to be laid before the Viceroy without delay, and that a speedy answer was expected. They then requested that the steamers might be removed lower down, as their presence only tended to keep alive the excitement. This, however, could not be complied with. They denied altogether the report that a large body of troops were advancing towards the city, or that any violence or insult whatever was intended against the foreigners. However, it was intimated that the steamers were perfectly prepared, and that their guns would be kept loaded, ready to meet any attack that might be made.

How completely the tables were now turned, since the days of Captain Elliot's difficulties and Lord Napier's humiliation! The novelty of the position could not fail to strike all the mandarins. Here were the once-powerful Hong merchants, and the haughty and once-flattered Kwang-chow-foo, at length brought down to the level of a very "submissive" visit on board a small steamer, in order to receive for transmission to the Viceroy a document couched in terms of perfect equality. How few short years had elapsed since scarcely even an humble "*petition*" would have been received at the city gate, without subjecting the bearer of it to insult, and perhaps to violence!

The answer of the Viceroy was perfectly satisfactory; and that it was sincere, the event has since fully proved. He declared his great anxiety, as well as his perfect *ability*, to protect all foreigners; and, at the same time, expressed his readiness to repay all such losses as had been incurred during the late riots, after they should have been correctly ascertained, and transmitted through her Majesty's government.

It must be remembered, that only a part of the damage done fell *directly* upon the British merchants; for the Americans were quite as great, if not greater sufferers, in the first instance, either as principals or agents of British houses. Their losses could not, of course, be included in Sir Henry Pottinger's demand, neither is it at all likely that he would admit any such extraordinary claims as were paid by Captain Elliot, on account of the very figurative and certainly undefinable item of "personal inconvenience." Incon-

venience, of some sort or other, must be suffered by every one who resides in a country which is at war; but, what might be considered very great "inconvenience" by one man, would be little heeded by another, and vice versâ. But the only "inconvenience" for which compensation was claimed, even in the most promising period for claiming it, was on American account. Yet ten thousand dollars was a large sum for such an item of damage sustained.

There have been no grounds whatever for supposing that there will be any probability of another collision with the Chinese, to whose moderation and good faith, since the terms of peace have been settled, too much justice cannot be done. When we consider the wonderful changes which have been brought about in so short a period of time, and these, too, in the face of a nation the most proud, the most prejudiced, and the vainest in the world, we cannot but look back with wonder at all that has happened, and stand firm in our belief that Providence has yet greater things in store for China, mainly through the instrumentality of England.

A new era is undoubtedly now opened for the Chinese; new duties and new relations have been imposed upon them; but let us not forget, in the fullness of victory, and in the pride of the human heart, that new and highly important duties are imposed upon *us* also, not lightly to be thought of, nor inconsiderately handled. We must take for our motto, forbearance, goodwill, kindliness, honesty, and true Christian feeling. With these as our panoply, the benefit to be derived by

both nations from the cautious, systematic, and prudent exercise of the duties imposed upon each other, may become a blessing to both. Let it also be borne in mind, that qualities the reverse of these — overbearing violence, and, above all, undue love of gain—may entail, not only misery and the horrors of anarchy upon a people who proudly boast of their antiquity and of their vast resources, but may also bring political difficulties, with loss of dignity and of high principle, upon that little distant speck upon the earth's surface, yet that giant in the world's interest—Great Britain.

At the latter end of December, the whole of the transports and ships of war not required for further service in China sailed from Hong Kong for their respective destinations; and peace seemed now to reign throughout the whole of that vast portion of the east.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Departure from Macao—Voyage along the coast towards Hainan—Piratical fishing-boats—Bay of Liengsoy described—Fishing village—Mandarin station—Galong bay—Good shelter—Picturesque country—Yin-lin-kan a beautiful harbour—Entrance into the Lagoon—Discovery of a river—Excursion into the interior—Appearance of the country—Curious buffalo carts—Cocoa-nut woods—Observations on the people—Villages—Tea-shops—Interesting journey—Party of prisoners and mandarins—An inn by the road side—Stopping the mandarin's chairs and horses—Civility of the peasants—Return to the boats—Hall's river—Coast of Cochin-China—Phuyen harbour—Description of it—Good place of refuge—Appearance of the country—Curious burial-ground—New kind of fishing-boats—Odd contrivance—Arrival at Singapore—Malacca—Its fallen condition—Penang revisited—Moulmein—Remarks on—Frontier of Birmah—Elephant riding—Remarkable caves—Arrival at Calcutta—Review at Barrackpore—Conclusion.

Before daylight on the morning of the 23rd of December, the Nemesis was destined to take her departure from Macao, and probably to bid adieu to China for ever. It is not too much to say, that she was regretted by all. She had been so long and so favourably known to the whole community, so beloved by Europeans, in proportion as she was dreaded by the Chinese, and so many had been witnesses to the services

and the kindness of her officers, upon many trying occasions, that it almost seemed to them like losing an old and tried friend to part with the Nemesis. On their side, too, the officers of the vessel had much reason to be thankful for the many kindnesses and attentions they had always received from the British community, and to be proud of the friendship and the good-wishes, no less than of the honours, which they had won for themselves.

Before three o'clock, the Nemesis was under weigh; and the discharge of a few rockets and the report of her guns gave notice of her departure to the still sleeping inhabitants, who were quite unused to the disturbance at that early hour in the morning. It caused some little alarm among the inmates of the houses on the Praya Grande, fronting the bay. But the Governor, who resides there, had been previously told, in a good-humoured way, that he must not be alarmed at a little noise during the night. When daylight broke, the Nemesis was out of sight of Macao.[1]

As the extent of the wear and tear of the vessel, after three years' service of a trying kind, was not precisely known, it was not thought prudent to run out into the middle of the China Sea, during the strength of the monsoon. She therefore coasted along towards the island of Hainan, in order that she might be able to take shelter, if a gale came on. It was perhaps fortunate that she did so. The weather was extremely pleasant and warm, but looked unsettled. The appearance of

[1] The author was on board during this voyage, as a personal friend of Captain Hall.

the coast, as we ran along it, at the distance of five or six miles, was bold and mountainous, but not very fertile, as far as we could judge at that distance.

In the course of the day, we passed through a large fleet of fishing-junks, dragging their huge nets before the wind. The Chinese fishermen did not appear alarmed at the approach of the steamer, and from one of them we procured an enormous fish, weighing no less than eighty-eight pounds, and differing in appearance from any we had hitherto seen. It had a large flat head, but small mouth, and was of a greenish yellow colour. When dressed, it was found eatable, but rather strong.

We soon passed very near the curious conical rock, called the Mandarin's Peak or Cap, and kept the coast in view until dark. On the following day, the weather was extremely hazy and unsettled, and there was a heavy swell setting in from seaward. We had hoped to have been able to land on Hainan on Christmas-day, and to have drank the health of absent friends on terra firma; but the hazy weather detained the vessel, and she only anchored, as the night set in, in a fine sandy bay in seven fathoms water; the wind howled over our heads, and made it the more satisfactory that we had kept near the land.

As mention has been made of having passed through a fleet of fishing-junks, it will be proper here to warn all vessels against being off their guard on such occasions. The fishermen along the whole coast of this part of China, as far as Canton, are rogues, pirates, smugglers—in short, ready to take advantage of any opportunity, honest or otherwise, of benefitting them-

selves. They will perhaps appear quite friendly at first; and, if they then find that a vessel is not prepared to resist, or if they think that they could overpower her, the chances are that they would not hesitate to make the attempt, when least expected. Never trust yourself in a strange place ashore without *at least one* double-barrelled pistol in your pocket, and never admit a Chinaman on board (if a number of fishing-boats are about) *on this coast*, without being prepared to prevent treachery. This caution is not unnecessary to ordinary merchant vessels, because it commonly happens that, although they have arms on board, the ammunition can seldom be found when it is wanted in a hurry, and not unfrequently, when the barrels of the muskets are clean and the bayonets bright, the locks have got no flints. It is at night that the Chinese would be most likely to make the attempt, and for this reason the opium clippers are always well armed and manned. This is found necessary for their own *protection*, and not, as many have supposed, to compel the Chinese to purchase the drug.

The bay in which we anchored was situated a little to the eastward of Liengsoy, or Tongsoy Bay, as laid down in the charts. On the following morning, as we proceeded towards the latter bay, we could clearly distinguish a sunken reef, running out from the east point of it, to the distance of nearly a mile. At the extremity of it, numerous fishing-boats were busily occupied, and with some difficulty a pilot was procured from one of them, to take us into Liengsoy Bay. He was found of little use, as it was easy to make our way

in without him; but he seemed highly pleased when a dollar was given to him, with a view to encourage others to come to the assistance of any other vessel that might require a pilot.

Liengsoy is a fine bay, perfectly sheltered during the north-east monsoon, but a little exposed to the south-west. From the depth of the bay, and from its being sheltered to the westward by a long chain of rocky mountains, it is well protected on that side, while the long reef forms a natural breakwater upon the east side. It is open only to the southward; and, from the height to which the sand is blown up upon the northern beach, it is evident that the wind sets in sometimes with great violence.

We had an instance here of the indifference of the Chinese towards each other, when life is in danger. One of their fishing-boats, which was towing astern, was upset, owing to the rapid motion of the wheels. Several other Chinese boats were at hand, yet not one of them would pull towards the two drowning men, to rescue them. They looked on with perfect indifference. The men were, however, saved by a boat sent from the steamer; and the rest of the Chinamen who would not assist got a good drubbing with a broomstick for their indifference.

At the extremity of the bay was a narrow opening not very easily seen at a distance, which led into a large salt-water lagoon. We pulled towards it in the steamer's cutter, and soon discovered a small half-dilapidated stone fort, on the left hand, near which was a small government station, distinguished by its flag, but

the inmates (although one of them, a fine stout fellow, was probably a mandarin) were very poor and humble. They invited us to land, and very civilly gave us tea, and let us smoke our cigars in their small dwelling, built of half mud, half mats, but more comfortable within than the exterior promised. Thence we walked along a fine sandy beach, bordering the lagoon, until we came to a tolerable village situated in the middle of a fine cocoa-tree plantation. It appeared to be principally inhabited by fishermen, fine, stout, well-made people; and the large quantity of sharks' fins which were fixed upon stakes, and put out to be dried by the sun, along the edge of the lagoon, sufficiently indicated the principal occupation of the people. The huts were built of coral, mud, and bamboo, and were ranged in long lines or lanes, and the people seemed generally well clothed and happy. The women were not secluded, but came out to look at our party, almost as freely as the men. All appeared good-humoured and well disposed, and had plenty of ducks, fowls, and pigs, which they offered for sale. It was noticed that, even in this poor little fishing-village, people were seen reading or writing in almost every one of the little shops. As we left it again, the villagers amused themselves by letting off crackers in all directions—a Chinaman's delight. Numbers of the people followed us down to the boat again; and two or three rupees, distributed among the most deserving, put them all in a good humour.

We could not ascertain whether any river flowed into the lagoon or not, but no fresh water was seen, although, from the greater number of trees and the appearance of

vegetation at the upper extremity of it, about a mile and a half distant, we thought it probable that a small river opened into the lagoon.

Having rejoined the steamer, we stood out of the bay again, and, having rounded the western extremity, formed by the range of hills which run quite down to the coast, proceeded along shore for about a mile, until we entered another fine bay, remarkable for having three entrances, and called Galong Bay. The coast is extremely bold and rocky, covered with low, stunted shrubs, and there is deep water almost close in shore. Horsburgh's description and directions were found to be quite correct; except that the village, of which he speaks, could not be found any where at the present time. The bay is one of great extent; and the two rocky islands, called the Brothers, between which are the channels leading into it from the westward, are bold and striking objects.

As we proceeded further into the bay, the appearance of its shores improved; the steep, picturesque mountains on all sides being clothed with wood, from their summit to the water's edge. The only perfect shelter for ships from the south-west is under a low island, called Middle Island, inside the Brothers, where there is a fine, sandy beach, but not very deep water. Of course there is perfect shelter from the north-east, and you have always the advantage of three entrances into the bay.

Having steamed quite round the bay, the Nemesis went out again by the broadest passage, between one of the Brothers and the main island, and continued to coast

along a bold, rocky shore, until we entered the beautiful bay of Yin-lin-kan. The entrance to this is not broad, but sufficiently so for ships to work in, and then it expands into a fine, bold bay, having plenty of water in all parts. On proceeding to its furthest extremity, we found the entrance of what Horsburgh calls a lagoon; at its entrance it has all the appearance of a lagoon, and it is not until you get up quite to its extremity (which you are able to do in boats) that you find a river of tolerable size flowing into it.

The great bay or harbour of Yin-Lin-Kan is by far the best of all those that were visited on this coast. There is fine anchorage in smooth water, perfectly protected from all winds; indeed, the sea outside cannot even be seen when you are fairly inside the bay. Several large fishing-junks, of the better kind, were at anchor there; and the shores were bold and picturesque.

Having found our way into what appeared to be the mouth of the lagoon, it was determined to stand in, if possible, to explore it further. The entrance was narrow, and the passage tortuous; but, by observing the character of the shores on either side, together with the varying shades of colour in the water, and with two good men in the chains, and one out on the jib-boom, the channel into it was found without much difficulty, the water being deeper than was expected. Fishing-stakes were seen in several places, so that it seemed probable that a town or village was not far off. The lagoon, or expanded river, was now found to turn round to the right, or westward, and several small junks were at anchor near a few huts upon the shore. The appear-

ance of the country was very peculiar, looking very like a flooded valley, about half a mile in breadth, the shores rising up on either side with a rather steep ascent, but leaving some low ground at the edge of the lagoon.

The steamer continued to push her way on for about one mile and a half or two miles, through a shallow channel, until she had passed a double line of long fishing-stakes, one on either side. The water was now too shallow to proceed further, and the tide was falling, so that it was necessary to retrace our steps into deeper water, where she anchored for the night.

On the following morning, at daylight, the weather being very unsettled and hazy, Captain Hall determined to take his cutter and pinnace, and proceed to the extremity of the lagoon, nearly a mile distant, in the hope of finding a river, or probably some town or village, not far off. The crews were well armed, in case of a surprise; and we also took our double-barrelled guns, in the hope of getting a shot or two at some game. As we approached the end of the lagoon, the water became very shallow, and the passage difficult to find. We saw what appeared to us to be deer and pheasants, in abundance, along the edge of the mountains, on either side; but time was too precious and the water too shallow (it being quite low water) to permit us to land where we most wished.

At length, after carefully searching for a considerable time, we found a distinct entrance to a river, nearly at the right hand corner of the end of the lagoon. It was not easy to make it out at first; as the banks, which

were low, were thickly covered with mangrove shrubs. The country expanded into a broad, open valley, beyond which well-wooded hills could be seen on every side. Cocoa-nut trees were growing in abundance; and here and there we could descry, in the distance, small, rich, green spots of cultivated ground, which made us think that we should find inhabitants not far off. We had no difficulty in ascending the river, but discovered no habitations or appearance of cultivation on its banks. The bare roots of the mangroves on either side, standing out exposed into the river, served to show by their marks that the water sometimes stood much higher than it then was, and that floods occasionally took place.

At the distance of about two miles from the entrance, we came to a narrow, wooden-plank bridge, close to which were two small junks, or decked boats. One of our boats was sent higher up to explore; but the river was found divided by a small island, a little above the bridge, and the water was so shallow that the pinnace could not proceed without difficulty. Accordingly, having left a part of the men in charge of the boats at the bridge, and another party, consisting of an officer and six men, being ordered to follow at an interval of less than half an hour, Captain Hall and myself, accompanied by four men, well armed, set out to explore the country. We soon fell into a well-beaten, sandy cart-track, which surprised us not a little, as we had hitherto seen nothing of the kind in China. It has been already noticed that carts were found to be in use in the island of Formosa; and it was also known that they were to

be met with in the northern parts of China, in the neighbourhood of Pekin.

After pursuing our way along this sandy track for about a mile, we entered a fine cocoa-tree wood, with several neat little cottages built in the midst of it; and presently we heard a creaking, or rather squeaking noise, which seemed to be nearing us. It was soon found to proceed from three bullock-carts, rudely built of poles, covered round with matting, and drawn by buffaloes instead of bullocks. They had more the appearance of large bales of goods than of carts; the wheels were made of solid wood, and the axletree was fixed *in* the wheel (as at Formosa), but turned round under the body of the cart, causing a loud, squeaking noise at each revolution. It could be heard a long way off, and somewhat resembled the scraping of a bad violin, although probably by native ears it was considered a very agreeable sound.

Several teams of buffaloes were passed, dragging timber down to the river-side, which must be found in abundance in this neighbourhood, and of good quality; an important consideration for ships driven into the bay of Yin-Lin-Kan by stress of weather.

We soon emerged into a fine, level, grassy plain; upon which, at intervals, clusters of shrubs and young trees were passed. Small green parroquets seemed to be very numerous. The soil, however, was poor and sandy; but the mountains which bounded the plain, or expanded valley, were covered with wood; while, lower down towards the river (or what appeared to us to be its probable course), grass-lands and paddy-fields varied the

landscape. We were surprised, however, at seeing so few people; and, compared with China Proper, the country appeared to us very thinly populated.

The autumnal tints were still fresh upon the foliage, although it was past Christmas-day; and the variety of the trees, and the peculiar conical shape of some of the mountains, thickly covered with wood to their very summits, combined to give additional interest and novelty to the character of the country. Perhaps it struck us the more forcibly, from being *different* from any thing we had recently seen in China Proper. It was curious to notice the gradations of verdure, according to the height above the valley. At the bottom every thing was brown and autumnal, at the top it was all green and youthful, while between the two were all the intermediate stages. Here again we thought we could distinguish deer and pheasants in the woods along the mountain sides.

Gradually the plain became contracted, and we entered a regular sort of narrow cart-road, overhung with trees, and cut at least two feet below the surface, as if the better to give protection from the sun's rays. This soon led us to some rich paddy-fields, in the neighbourhood of a village, around which were gardens planted with the sweet potato and other vegetables, and apparently cultivated with great care. The village or rather hamlet was very inconsiderable; and we passed on without halting, in the hope of reaching some town of consequence. The valley continued to get narrower, and our road was now sheltered with trees.

A walk of about four miles further brought us to

another considerable village, where we halted for an hour, and took refreshment in a large public tea-shop. The villagers crowded good-humouredly round us, and betrayed little fear, although we were all well armed. We only saw two really *poor* people amongst them, and they looked as if they were just let out of prison. As usual, our dress, appearance, arms, and every little trifle we carried about us, attracted great attention and curiosity. They had probably never seen Europeans before; and when we fired off a musket to please them, their astonishment was indeed great, although it had only a flint, and not a percussion-lock. Their wants were few, and the necessaries of life appeared easily obtained; there were some decent shops in the village, and, us usual, plenty of people who could read and write.

Altogether the whole appearance of the country gave one the idea of a newly-colonized spot. We saw no goats or cows, but plenty of capital pigs and poultry. We still thought that there might be some considerable town not far off; and by the help of a small vocabulary, written in Chinese (which of course they were able to *read*), we ascertained that there was one some miles off, the direction of which was pointed out to us. After some hesitation we determined to proceed; and at length we reached the extremity of the valley, where there was merely a footpath, running sometimes between low hills, at other times through a dense scrub, until at length we crossed the bed of a river, with a fine rocky bottom and a rapid stream. Here we halted to refresh ourselves with a cool draught, when suddenly a whole posse of people descended the hill on the other

side, and began to cross the river; some were carried in sedan-chairs (mandarins, probably), some were led with chains round their necks, while others had chains round their legs; there were also several attendants; and one great man rode on horseback. They had almost reached the middle of the river before they observed us, and naturally looked somewhat alarmed at our appearance. We saluted them, and then passed on.

Our road now lay among hills, and the ground was broken and tiresome. We ascended one hill, which was paved all the way with large rough stones, and we concluded we *must* be near the town we were in search of; and the novelty of the adventure stimulated us to go on, although the heat was great, and we had still the whole distance to travel back again. We now ascended a steep eminence a little out of the road, from which we obtained a magnificent view of the country, with a fine plain just beyond the hills, bounded by the sea in the distance. We could see no town, but there could be little doubt that it lay somewhere in the beautiful plain beneath us.

Having regained the principal path, we proceeded some way further along the side of a wooded mountain, until we reached an inn by the road side. Here again we got tea, and smoked our cigars, on perfect good terms with the Chinese, our fellow-travellers. A consultation was now held. It seemed probable that the town we were attempting to reach was that of Lychew, upon the sea-coast, about ten or twelve miles from the capital of the island. The day was already far advanced, and we had still about twelve miles to get

back again to our boats. Moreover, we thought it very likely that by returning at once we should meet the sedan-chairs empty, and the horse without its rider, returning to the town, after having escorted their prisoners, and thus we should manage to get ourselves *carried* back to our boat. We determined, therefore, not to proceed further, although we much longed to descend into the valley beyond.

It surprised us that, considering we were without doubt the first Europeans who had been seen in that part of the country, the people showed not the slightest rudeness or troublesome curiosity. They all seemed much more taken up with the appearance of one of the black Kroomen, who attended us, than with the Europeans; but there was no noise or shouting, as would perhaps have been the case among an English mob, had they suddenly met with a *red* man or a *blue* man, who would certainly not have been less an object of curiosity to them than a jet-black Krooman to the Chinese of Hainan.

After proceeding two or three miles on our way back, we fortunately met the sedan-chairs and the horse returning. We soon made them halt, and tried to come to terms for them to carry us all the way down to our boats. Captain Hall mounted the horse without any ceremony; but the poor fellows who had charge of it cried so lustily, and from their manner made us believe that they would be so terribly punished, that at last they were allowed to proceed unmolested.

Next came a grand dispute about the sedan-chairs, rickety old things made of bamboo, but we soon got

into them (there were only two, just one for each), and held out a dollar; but between fear and disinclination to the job, the men set us down, and left us in the lurch. However, as we kept possession of the chairs, we had the best of the bargain, though it was not a very pleasant prospect for us to sit there until it should please the men to carry us on. At length, after some deliberation among themselves, they agreed to carry us for a dollar each, and away we went, greatly enjoying the fun.

On reaching the village at which we had before halted, they set us down again, in order to rest themselves, and tried every means to persuade us to alight, and take some tea; but we were rather too old travellers to be taken in by such tricks, and continued to keep possession of our chairs. At length, finding they could not get rid of us, they made up their minds to carry us on the whole way, and trotted off nimbly enough. The easy, measured step of the Chinese bearers, who carry the poles upon their shoulders, one on either side, with a cross piece joining them together, and resting upon the back of the neck, is by no means disagreeable; and considering the rudeness of the construction of the chairs, we were surprised that the motion was so pleasant.

Presently we fell in with the other party which had been desired to follow us, and received a very good account of the civility they had met with from the people. Indeed, they stated that they had overtaken a respectable-looking Chinaman on horseback, as they were marching along, who, seeing a young midshipman

of the party, among so many stout men, very gallantly dismounted, and offered him the use of his horse, intimating by his manner and gestures that he was too young to walk so far. This little piece of attention was the more remarkable, as horses are seldom used by the Chinese, and are usually only found in the hands either of people of rank or of great wealth. On reaching a road which branched off to the left, the polite gentleman resumed his horse and disappeared.

At length we reached the beautiful cocoa-nut wood near the river, and refreshed ourselves with the milk of the fresh nuts, under the shade of the trees, which were here growing to a very great height.

Having regained our boats, we found a number of Chinese collected round them, but no violence or insult had been offered; indeed, the peasants had brought down fowls and ducks for sale. I had also purchased one of the pretty little green and blue parroquets of the country, together with the little cage to which it was chained; but the bird was so wild and untameable, that, after keeping it for some days on board ship, it managed to make its escape.

It has been already mentioned that we found timber brought down to the river side when we first landed, and, to our surprise, we now saw a number of large strong wooden coffins, but for what purpose we could not ascertain.

It was now almost sunset, and the tide was just beginning to turn, so that we descended the river rapidly, and, as we emerged from it into the lagoon, it was christened Hall's River, with our last glass of cherry-

brandy, a little of which we had taken with us for the journey.

As it was still nearly high-water, the appearance of the lagoon was much more striking than it had been in the morning, and we could see plenty of game coming out of the woods, to feed upon the little green patches at the foot of the hills. But not a single human habitation could be discovered. We soon reached the steamer again, and instantly getting under weigh, proceeded out of the lagoon, or Inner Harbour, as it is called upon the Admiralty chart.

It should here be remarked that the entrance to the outer harbour or *basin* of Yin-Lin-Kan, as laid down in the chart, is much too broad, and the bay too open; at least, such is the impression from what we remember of the very *moderate* breadth of the entrance, and of the appearance of the basin when inside of it. There was a heavy swell outside, the result of the strong breezes which had prevailed for several preceding days.

We now stood across the Gulf of Tonquin, towards the coast of Cochin-China, which we kept in sight all the way down. On the 29th we ran into the large and beautiful basin, called by Horsburgh, Phuyen Harbour, in latitude 13°, 23′, N., with a view to ascertain its character and capabilities, which could be done with very little detention. The importance of an accurate knowledge of the best harbours for ships to run into, in the China Sea, in case of need, cannot be overrated, now that there is every probability of a great increase in the number of merchant ships passing up and down.

The great Phuyen Basin, which in fact contains *three* excellent harbours, is accurately described by Horsburgh. We steamed round it in all directions, and were struck with its beauty, and the perfect shelter it affords. The soundings were very regular, from twelve, to five and a quarter, and four and a half fathoms. The Buoy Rock, which is the only danger, is distinctly seen above water, at ebb-tide, looking precisely like what its name indicates. As we came out again at high-water, it was found covered. It lies about half way up the first or outer harbour, at the distance of half to one-third of a mile from the northern shore.

Just at the entrance to this harbour, near its southern shore, stands the high, abrupt, rocky island, called Nest Island, which, although there is deep water close in, on either side, has a coral reef running out from its western extremity. The three harbours are, first, Xuandai, on the southern shore, round Nest Island; next, Vunglam, on the north-western side, about a mile and a half further up; and lastly, Vung-chao, at the end of the basin.

Nothing can exceed the beauty and security of the spot, shut in on all sides, like a large lake, the shores being bold and mountainous, but not much wooded. Further inland, to the westward, the country appeared fertile and well cultivated, but not laid out in terraces along the hill sides, as in most parts of China-Proper, but divided into small fields with hedgerows round them, putting one very much in mind of some parts of England.

We were disappointed in not finding a town of some size along the shores of the basin; but, as the soil is there generally poor, while there was evidently a rich valley a little in the rear to the westward, we concluded that it was probably situated in that more favoured spot. There were however two hamlets, one on either side of the extremity of the bay, situated in the midst of a fine cocoa-nut wood; and in a little bay in the east corner we found a very extensive burial-ground, with a number of large tombs, and a small chapel. We could learn nothing of its history, but concluded that it was the cemetery for wealthy people belonging to some town not far distant. We landed, and rambled among the curious tombs, different in appearance from those either of the Chinese or the Malays. There were a few fishermen's huts in the neighbourhood, but the people were poor and ill-clothed, and their features far from prepossessing. The men were small in stature, and in every respect an inferior-looking people to the inhabitants of Hainan.

A vast number of large, well-built fishing-boats were sailing about the great basin, built very sharp at both ends, and of great length. They carry an enormous sail, very broad, but not high, cut square, but yet not like a lug-sail. It was made of a strong kind of grass cloth. As this powerful sail must of course endanger the safety of their long narrow boat, they adopt a curious mode of counterbalancing it, so as to keep the boat upright. A long straight stout spar is run out to windward from the middle of the vessel, and upon this

three or four men (more or less according to the strength of the wind,) crawl out, and sit upon the extremity, dangling their legs over the water in a manner not to be envied. From long habit, they sit there very contentedly, for a length of time, almost entirely naked, and appear to think that no other kind of ballast is needed. If the wind were suddenly to change, they would probably get a ducking, by their own weight bearing down the boat, with such a lever. But, as the monsoon blows pretty regularly here, they are not afraid of sudden changes. If they have occasion to put about, the men all come in first, and then rig out the spar upon the opposite side, crawling out upon it again as before.

Two or three better kind of vessels were seen, differently rigged, something like our lattine-rig, and they looked and sailed remarkably well. The people did not appear at all afraid of the steamer, although they looked on, in evident wonder, as she moved so steadily through the harbour.

The same afternoon, we pursued our voyage; and on the 5th of January reached Singapore, whither the rest of the division had preceded us. The arrival of the Nemesis had been anxiously looked for, as it was feared that some accident might have happened to have caused her detention so long; but it was precisely to avoid accidents that she had come down along the coast so leisurely. She steamed into Singapore, decorated with a number of Chinese flags, and was cheered by several of the transports as she passed. The next day, nearly all the rest of the squadron set sail again, leav-

ing the Nemesis to follow, as soon as her fuel was completed.

On the evening of the 12th, the Nemesis again pursued her voyage; and, on the 14th at daylight, anchored in the shallow open bay of Malacca. The view of the town and coast from the bay is striking; there is a *Malay look* about it, and much less of the European character than in Singapore. There is a rich flat belt of country along the coast, thickly covered with cocoa-nut trees; while a hill adjoining the town, upon which there is the ruin of a church, with a flag-staff, and a saluting battery, forms a marked point in the prospect.

Every thing at Malacca distinctly indicates the "tempora mutantur" of bye-gone days; the dull stillness of the town, the mixture of Dutch countenances, modified by long descent in a tropical country, the *fallen-off* look of the public buildings, point out the little value which is set upon Malacca in the present day. The kind attentions of the governor, however, induced us to pay a short visit a few miles into the interior, where we obtained a splendid view of a fine, rich, well-wooded, and well-watered country. We were evidently in the favoured regions of the spice plantations.

We had just arrived in time to disturb a nest of Malay pirates, who had landed the day before, and had robbed one of the neighbouring villages, killing or wounding several of the inhabitants. The steamer's boats were immediately sent away manned and armed, at the governor's request, and accompanied by a large hired boat, carrying a strong body of police. A search-warrant had been obtained, for the purpose of examin-

ing two or three small junks which had recently come into the bay, but nothing suspicious was found on board. The boats then pulled off towards two islands several miles distant, where it was thought the pirates might lie concealed, but nothing was discovered. The matter was then left entirely in the hands of the police, and the steamer's boats returned.

The same evening we again pursued our voyage towards Penang, or Prince of Wales's Island, the so-called Gem of the Eastern Seas. Our course was taken as close along shore as was possible; and instead of passing through the narrow channels between the sands in the middle of the straits, we pushed through the Calam Strait, just above the Parcellar Hill, and found the passage broad and safe, the shores on both sides being bold and well wooded.

On the 17th, we reached the truly beautiful island of Penang, a spot which becomes the more striking the oftener it is seen, and anchored in a small sandy bay close to the fort, inside the Dido, 20, under the command of the Honourable Captain Keppel. Enough has already been said of this lovely spot, in the early part of this work. Its clean and regular town, its excellent roads, beautiful villas, and rich plantations of spices of all kinds, and of cocoa-nuts, added to the picturesque beauties of the landscape on every side, cannot be forgotten by any who have visited them.

The hospitality and good feeling of the inhabitants of Penang cannot be exceeded. There is a considerable population of Chinese upon the island (in addition to Malays, Indians, and Europeans,) who besides being

excellent mechanics, enter largely into the cultivation of spice-trees, and often become not only honest and useful tenants, but actual proprietors of small plantations. It is worth remembering that, from its geographical position, there is not half an hour's difference in the rising and setting of the sun, at Pinang, throughout the whole year.

There is one curiosity in natural history very common on this island, which I had never seen elsewhere; viz. the trumpet beetle. Although not large itself, it has a long trumpet-shaped proboscis, or kind of feeler, from which it emits so loud and long a sound, among the woods by the mountain's sides, that you can scarcely believe that any insect could possibly send forth such a tone. It gave one more the idea of the sound which a bird might utter, such for instance as that of the bell-bird, or the whip-bird, or the laughing jackass (vernacularly called) met with in New South Wales.

One of the largest trees on record is to be found at Penang. It is one hundred and thirty feet high to the *first branch*, and thirty-six feet round in the largest part.

After a few days' detention at Penang, to complete some necessary repairs and to take in coal, we bade adieu, with many regrets, to that lovely island, and coasted along all the way towards the entrance of the Moulmein river, at the mouth of which we found the Endymion at anchor, having Sir Hugh Gough and staff on board. Having delivered the despatches and letter-bags, we proceeded up the river in charge of a pilot, for the purpose of getting coal. The river was found broader and deeper than had been expected, well wooded on both

sides; indeed, a great quantity of valuable timber is exported from Moulmein, and large ships are built there extremely well and cheap. The H. C. steamer Tenasserim was built in this river after the model of The Queen, built in England, and has answered extremely well.

Two of H. M. brigs were at anchor off the town, besides two small vessels and gun-boats belonging to the East India Company. Moulmein was garrisoned by a force of about 4,000 men, including one European regiment. It is the frontier town of Burmah, on its southern side, lying just opposite Martaban, where it was said the Burmese had collected a large army just before we made peace with China; probably with no friendly feeling towards us. The town itself is in its infancy, but has made great progress within the last few years. There is a magnificent view of the surrounding country, and of the river both above and below, and also of the distant town of Martaban, from the top of a high conical hill, upon which are several curious temples built after the Burmese fashion. The town must be considered rather as a large frontier military station than as a place of trade, and the soil is generally poor and sandy.

By the kindness of the Governor, who politely lent us some of the Commissariat elephants, we were enabled to make an excursion to see the very remarkable caves, distant about fifteen miles from the town. We had to ascend the river in a boat, for some miles, when we landed on the opposite side, where the elephants were in readiness for us. The sun was excessively hot,

so that umbrellas were necessary. As elephant-riding was quite new to us, and the animals themselves, moreover, were only accustomed to carry heavy burdens, it was no easy matter to mount them at all, even when they had knelt down. At last, however, we contrived to scramble up by the tail, making use of it as a rope.

After a ride of seven or eight miles, we came to several isolated wooded rocks of great height, standing up on the surface of an extensive plain, unbroken by any other objects. They were covered more or less with wood, from the base to the summit, the trees growing to a great height among the crags, in a manner which made you wonder how the soil in which they grew could have come there. The caverns were very large and deep, showing a beautiful stalactitic formation. The effect was extremely beautiful, when lighted up with blue lights, putting one very much in mind of the blue grotto on the island of Capri, in the bay of Naples; indeed, you could fancy that the sea had only recently retired from these caverns, so fresh was the appearance of their walls. They were certainly well worth seeing. In the cooler part of the evening, we returned to our boats, and soon reached Moulmein again.

On the following day, having completed the necessary quantity of coal, we descended the river, and steered our course direct for Calcutta, which we reached on the 6th of February. We passed a great many of our old friends, the transports, waiting for tugs to tow them up, and arrived off Fort William, just at the most fashionable hour for the promenade along the river side. The steamer was decorated with numerous Chinese

flags, and several officers had come up from on board the transports, who were anxiously looking out for their friends upon the banks. Having passed quite up above the fort, among all the shipping, we returned down towards the principal landing-place, attracting the attention and curiosity of thousands, who were collected to look at the Nemesis, of which they had heard so much. A salute was fired, which was returned by the fort; and there at length quietly lay the Nemesis, resting from all her toils.

Of Calcutta, the City of Palaces, and of the kindness and hospitality of its inhabitants, little need be said. Great honours were done to those who had fought for their country, in China and Affghanistan; and balls, dinners, illuminations, and fêtes of all kinds, were the order of the day.

The last service performed by the Nemesis, under her old Commander, was to convey Lieutenant-General Sir Hugh Gough and his staff up the river to Barrackpore, to review the garrison stationed there; including the remnant of the Bengal Volunteers recently returned. It was an excursion of duty, but in reality not less one of pleasure.

We may now bid adieu to the Nemesis. Sufficient evidence has been given of the vast utility of iron steamers of *moderate* size, in service upon an enemy's coast. The danger which some have apprehended from the rusting of the rivets by which the iron-plates are fastened together, or from their *starting*, through the concussions to which the vessel may be liable, was proved to be almost totally unfounded. The corrosion of her bottom can be prevented to a great

extent, by constantly painting it with red lead, an operation which is much facilitated by the ease and safety with which a flat-bottomed iron vessel can be laid ashore. It must not be forgotten, however, that barnacles adhere more readily and firmly to an iron vessel, than they do to one coppered over.

At Calcutta, the Nemesis was docked and examined, before being sent round to Bombay for a thorough repair. She was pronounced to be in a perfectly fit state to perform the voyage, without risk; and she ultimately arrived safely at Bombay, under the command of Lieutenant Fell, I. N., who carried her successfully through the intricate passage between Ceylon and the mainland. At Bombay, the Nemesis was docked; and the following extract of a letter, dated Bombay, June 19, 1843, will surprise those who are unacquainted with the durability of iron steamers:—"The Nemesis has been for some time past in our docks, and I have carefully examined her. She displays in no small degree the advantages of iron. Her bottom bears the marks of having been repeatedly ashore; the plates are deeply indented in many places, in one or two to the extent of several inches. She has evidently been in contact with sharp rocks, and one part of her keel-plate is bent sharp up, in such a way as I could not believe that *cold* iron could bear; indeed, unless the iron had been extremely good, I am sure it would not have stood it without injury. Her bottom is not nearly as much corroded as I expected to have found it, and she is as tight as a bottle."

APPENDIX.

A.

BRITISH SQUADRON IN CHINA AT THE TERMINATION OF THE WAR.

H. M. Ship	Cornwallis	72,	(Captain P. Richards) bearing the flag of Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker, G.C.B., Commander-in-Chief.
...	Blenheim	74,	(Captain Sir Thos. Herbert, K.C.B.) bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Sir Thos. Cochrane, C.B.
...	Vindictive	50,	Captain J. T. Nicholas.
...	Blonde	42,	... T. Bourchier, C.B.
...	Thalia	44,	... C. Hope.
...	Endymion	44,	... The Hon. F. W. Grey.
...	Cambrian	36,	... H. D. Chads, C.B.
...	Calliope	28,	... A. L. Kuper, C.B.
...	North Star	26,	... Sir James E. Home, Bart.
...	Herald	26,	... J. Nias, C.B.
...	Dido	20,	... The Hon. H. Keppel.
...	Pelican	18,	Commander, P. Justice.
...	Modeste	18,	... R. B. Watson.
...	Harlequin	18,	... Hon. F. Hastings.
...	Columbine	16,	... W. H. A. Morshead.
...	Childers	16,	... E. P. Halsted.
...	Clio	16,	... E. N. Troubridge.

H. M. Ship	Hazard	16,	Commander, C. Bell.
...	Wanderer	16,	... G. H. Seymour.
...	Serpent	16,	... W. Nevil.
...	Wolverine	16,	... J. S. W. Johnson.
...	Cruiser	16,	... J. Pearce.
...	Hebe	4,	... — Wood.
...	Algerine	10,	Lieut. W. H. Maitland.
...	Royalist	10,	... P. Chetwode.
...	Minden,	Hospital,	Captain M. Quin.
...	Belleisle,	Troop ship,	... J. Kingcome.
...	Apollo	...	Commander, C. Frederick.
...	Jupiter	...	Master Com. G. B. Hoffmeister.
...	Rattlesnake	...	... Jas. Sprent.
...	Sapphire	...	... J. R. Fittock.
...	Alligator	...	... R. Browne.

SURVEYING VESSELS.

H. M. Schooner	Starling	...	Commander, H. Kellett.
... Brig	Plover	...	... R. Collinson.

STEAMERS—WOOD.

H. M. St. Ves.	Driver,	Commander, — Harmer.
...	Vixen,	... H. Boyes.
H. C. St. Ves.	Ackbar,	Commodore, J. Pepper, I.N.
...	Sesostris,	Commander, H. A. Ormsby, I.N.
...	Auckland,	... R. Ethersey, I.N.
...	Queen,	Master Commanding, W. Warden.
...	Tenasserim,	... A. P. Wall.
...	Memnon,	Commander, F. T. Powell, I.N.
..	Hooghley	Master Commanding, — Ross.

STEAMERS—IRON.

H. C. St. Ves.	Proserpine,	Commander Hough, R.N.
...	Nemesis,	Lieut. W. H. Hall, R.N.
...	Phlegethon,	... J. J. M'Cleverty, R.N.
...	Pluto	... J. J. Tudor, R.N.
...	Medusa,	... H. Hewitt, I.N.

B.

GENERAL REGULATIONS

UNDER WHICH THE BRITISH TRADE IS TO BE CONDUCTED AT THE FIVE PORTS OF CANTON, AMOY, FOOCHOWFOO, NINGPO, AND SHANGHAI.

I. Pilots.

WHENEVER a British merchantman shall arrive off any of the five ports opened to trade, viz. Canton, Foochowfow, Amoy, Ningpo, or Shanghai, pilots shall be allowed to take her immediately into port; and, in like manner, when such British ship shall have settled all legal duties and charges, and is about to return home, pilots shall be immediately granted to take her out to sea, without any stoppage or delay.

Regarding the remuneration to be given these pilots, that will be equitably settled by the British Consul appointed to each particular port, who will determine it with due reference to the distance gone over, the risk run, &c.

II. Custom-house Guards.

The Chinese Superintendent of Customs at each port will adopt the means that he may judge most proper to prevent the revenue suffering by fraud or smuggling. Whenever the pilot shall have brought any British merchantman into port, the Superintendent of Customs will depute one or two trusty Custom-house officers, whose duty it will be to watch against frauds on the revenue. These will either live in a boat of their own, or stay on board the English ship, as may best suit their convenience. Their food and expences will be supplied them from day to day from the Custom-house, and they may not exact any fees whatever from either the Commander or Consignee. Should they violate this regulation, they shall be punished proportionately to the amount so exacted.

III. Masters of Ships reporting themselves on Arrival.

Whenever a British vessel shall have cast anchor at any one of the above-mentioned ports, the Captain will, within four and twenty hours after arrival, proceed to the British Consulate, and deposit his ship's papers, bills of lading, manifest, &c. in the hands of the Consul; failing to do which, he will subject himself to a penalty of two hundred dollars.

For presenting a false manifest, the penalty will be five hundred dollars.

For breaking bulk and commencing to discharge, before due permission shall be obtained, the penalty will be five hundred dollars, and confiscation of the goods so discharged.

The Consul, having taken possession of the ship's papers, will immediately send a written communication to the Superintendent of Customs, specifying the register tonnage of the ship, and the particulars of the cargo she has on board; all of which being done in due form, permission will then be given to discharge, and the duties levied as provided for in the tariff.

IV. Commercial Dealings between English and Chinese Merchants.

It having been stipulated that English merchants may trade with whatever native merchants they please, should any Chinese merchant fraudently abscond or incur debts which he is unable to discharge, the Chinese authorities, upon complaint being made thereof, will of course do their utmost to bring the offender to justice; it must, however, be distinctly understood, that if the defaulter really cannot be found, or be dead, or bankrupt, and there be not wherewithal to pay, the English merchants may not appeal to the former custom of the Hong merchants paying for one another, and can no longer expect to have their losses made good to them.

V. Tonnage Dues.

Every English merchantman, on entering any one of the above-mentioned five ports, shall pay tonnage-dues at the rate of five mace her register ton, in full of all charges. The fees formerly levied on entry and departure, of every description, are henceforth abolished.

VI. Import and Export Duties.

Goods, whether imported into, or exported from, any one of the above-mentioned five ports, are henceforward to be taxed according to the tariff as now fixed and agreed upon, and no further sums are to be levied beyond those which are specified in the tariff; all duties incurred by an English merchant vessel, whether on goods imported or exported, or in the shape of tonnage-dues, must first be paid up in full; which done, the Superintendent of Customs will grant a port clearance, and this being shown to the British Consul, he will thereupon return the ship's papers and permit the vessel to depart.

VII. Examination of Goods at the Custom-house.

Every English merchant, having cargo to load or discharge, must give due intimation thereof, and hand particulars of the same to the Consul, who will immediately despatch a recognized linguist of his own establishment to communicate the particulars to the Superintendent of Customs, that the goods may be duly examined, and neither party subjected to loss. The English merchant must also have a properly-qualified person on the spot, to attend to his interests when his goods are being examined for duty, otherwise, should there be complaints, these cannot be attended to.

Regarding such goods as are subject by the tariff to an *ad valorem* duty, if the English merchant cannot agree with the Chinese officer in fixing a value, then each party shall call two or three merchants to look at the goods, and the highest price at which any of these merchants would be willing to purchase, shall be assumed as the value of the goods.

To fix the tare on any article, such as tea, if the English merchant cannot agree with the Custom-house officer, then each party shall choose so many chests out of every hundred, which, being first weighed in gross, shall afterwards be tared, and the average tare upon these chests shall be assumed as the tare upon the whole; and upon this principle shall the tare be fixed upon all other goods in packages.

If there should still be any disputed points which cannot be settled, the English merchant may appeal to the Consul, who will communicate the particulars of the case to the Superintendent of

Customs, that it may be equitably arranged. But the appeal must be made on the same day, or it will not be regarded. While such points are still open, the Superintendent of Customs will delay to insert the same in his books, thus affording an opportunity that the merits of the case may be duly tried and sifted.

VIII. Manner of Paying the Duties.

It is hereinbefore provided, that every English vessel that enters any one of the five ports shall pay all duties and tonnage-dues before she be permitted to depart. The Superintendent of Customs will select certain shroffs, or banking establishments of known stability, to whom he will give licences, authorizing them to receive duties from the English merchants on behalf of Government, and the receipt of these shroffs for any moneys paid them shall be considered as a government voucher. In the paying of these duties, different kinds of foreign money may be made use of; but as foreign money is not of equal purity with sycee silver, the English Consuls appointed to the different ports will, according to time, place, and circumstances, arrange with the Superintendents of Customs at each what coins may be taken in payment, and what per centage may be necessary to make them equal to standard or pure silver.

IX. Weights and Measures.

Sets of balance-yards for the weighing of goods, of money weights, and of measures, prepared in exact conformity to those hitherto in use at the Custom-house of Canton, and duly stamped and sealed in proof thereof, will be kept in possession of the Superintendent of Customs, and also at the British Consulate at each of the five ports, and these shall be the standards by which all duties shall be charged, and all sums paid to government. In case of any dispute arising between British merchants and Chinese officers of Customs, regarding the weights or measures of goods, reference shall be made to these standards, and disputes decided accordingly.

X. Lighters, or Cargo Boats.

Whenever any English merchants shall have to load or discharge cargo, he may hire whatever kind of lighter or cargo-boat he pleases, and the sum to be paid for such boat can be settled between the par-

ties themselves without the interference of government. The number of these boats shall not be limited, nor shall a monopoly of them be granted to any parties. If any smuggling take place in them, the offenders will of course be punished according to law. Should any of these boat-people, while engaged in conveying goods for English merchants, fraudulently abscond with the property, the Chinese authorities will do their best to appehend them; but, at the same time, the English merchants must take every due precaution for the safety of their goods.

XI. Transshipment of Goods.

No English merchant ships may transship goods without special permission: should an urgent case happen where transshipment is necessary, the circumstances must first be transmitted to the Consul, who will give a certificate to that effect, and the Superintendent of Customs will then send a special officer to be present at the transshipment. If any one presumes to transship without such permission being asked for and obtained, the whole of the goods so illicitly transshipped will be confiscated.

XII. Subordinate Consular Officers.

At any place selected for the anchorage of the English merchant ships, there may be appointed a subordinate consular officer, of approved good conduct, to exercise due control over the seamen and others. He must exert himself to prevent quarrels between the English seamen and natives, this being of the utmost importance. Should anything of the kind unfortunately take place, he will in like manner do his best to arrange it amicably. When sailors go on shore to walk, officers shall be required to accompany them, and, should disturbances take place, such officers will be held responsible. The Chinese officers may not impede natives from coming alongside the ships, to sell clothes or other necessaries to the sailors living on board.

XIII. Disputes between British Subjects and Chinese.

Whenever a British subject has reason to complain of a Chinese, he must first proceed to the Consulate and state his grievance; the Consul will thereupon inquire into the merits of the case, and do his

utmost to arrange it amicably. In like manner, if a Chinese have reason to complain of a British subject, he shall no less listen to his complaint, and endeavour to settle it in a friendly manner. If an English merchant have occasion to address the Chinese authorities, he shall send such address through the Consul, who will see that the language is becoming; and, if otherwise, will direct it to be changed, or will refuse to convey the address. If, unfortunately, any disputes take place of such a nature that the Consul cannot arrange them amicably, then he shall request the assistance of a Chinese officer, that they may together examine into the merits of the case, and decide it equitably. Regarding the punishment of English criminals, the English government will enact the laws necessary to attain that end, and the Consul will be empowered to put them in force: and, regarding the punishment of Chinese criminals, these will be tried and punished by their own laws, in the way provided for by the correspondence which took place at Nankin after the concluding of the peace.

XIV. British Government Cruisers anchoring within the Ports.

An English government cruiser will anchor within each of the five ports, that the Consul may have the means of better restraining sailors and others, and preventing disturbances. But these government cruisers are not to be put on the same footing as merchant vessels, for, as they bring no merchandize and do not come to trade, they will of course pay neither dues nor charges. The resident Consul will keep the Superintendent of Customs duly informed of the arrival and departure of such government cruisers, that he may take his measures accordingly.

XV. On the Security to be given for British Merchant Vessels.

It has hitherto been the custom, when an English vessel entered the port of Canton, that a Chinese Hong merchant stood security for her, and all duties and charges were paid through such security-merchant. But these security-merchants being now done away with, it is understood that the British Consul will henceforth be security for all British merchant ships entering any of the aforesaid five ports.

C.

SUPPLEMENTARY TREATY.

The following is an abstract of the Supplementary Treaty between the Queen of Great Britain and the Emperor of China.

Art. I. provides for the new tariff being in force at the five ports of Canton—Fuchow-foo, Amoy, Ningpo, and Shanghai.

Art. II. provides for the general regulations of trade being in force at the aforesaid five ports.

Art. III. provides that all penalties or confiscations made under the 3rd clause of the general regulations of trade shall belong to the government of China.

Art. IV. provides that British merchants shall be allowed only to trade at the five ports mentioned in Art. I.; that the British merchants' ships shall not repair to any other ports or places in China; that if they do so in contravention of this article, the Chinese authorities shall be at liberty to seize and confiscate both vessel and cargo, and that all Chinese subjects discovered clandestinely trading with British merchants at any other ports or places in China shall be punished as the law in China may direct.

Art. V. provides for the 4th clause of the general regulations of trade being applicable to both parties.

Art. VI. provides that English merchants and others residing at, or resorting to, the five ports, shall not go into the surrounding country beyond certain distances (to be fixed by the local authorities and consuls), and "on no pretence for purposes of traffic;" and that if any person, whatever his rank, station, or calling, disobey this article and "wander away into the country, he shall be seized and handed over to the British consul for suitable punishment."

Art. VII. provides for British subjects and their families residing agreeably to the treaty of perpetual peace and friendship, at the different ports named in Article I., and for their being allowed to buy or rent ground or houses at fair and equitable rates, such as prevail "amongst the people, without exaction on either side. The ground and houses, so to be sold or rented, to be set apart by the local authorities in communication with the consuls."

Art. VIII. provides for all foreign countries whose subjects or citizens have hitherto traded at Canton, being admitted to the five ports named in Article I. on the same terms as England.

Art. IX. provides for all Chinese criminals and offenders against the law, who may flee to Hong Kong, or to British ships of war, or to British merchantmen for refuge, being "delivered, upon proof or admission of their guilt:" and for any sailor, soldier, or other person, whatever his caste or country, who is a subject of the crown of England, and who may, from any cause, or on any pretence, desert, fly, or escape into the Chinese territory, being seized and confined by Chinese authorities, and forthwith sent to the nearest consular, or other British government officer.

Art. X. provides for a British ship of war being stationed at each of the five ports, "to insure good order and discipline amongst the crews of the merchant shipping, and to support the necessary authority of the consul over British subjects." The crews of such ship of war to be "carefully restrained by the officer commanding," and the rules regarding not straying into the country to be applicable to them, in the same manner as the crews of merchant ships. The ships of war to be in no degree liable to port-charges or any of the general regulations laid down for trade.

Art. XI. provides for the British forces being withdrawn from Chusan (Tinghai), and Coolung-soo being restored to the Chinese government, agreeably to the treaty of perpetual peace and friendship, the moment all the moneys stipulated for in that treaty shall be paid; and "the British plenipotentiary distinctly and voluntarily agrees that all dwelling-houses, store-houses, barracks, and other buildings, that the British troops or people may have occupied or intermediately built or repaired, shall be handed over, on the evacuation of the ports, exactly as they stand."

Art. XII. provides for the British plenipotentiary instructing the different consuls (in addition to the proclamation the plenipotentiary has already issued) "to strictly watch over and carefully scrutinize the conduct of all persons, being British subjects, trading under their superintendence," and, in the event of any smuggling transactions coming to their knowledge, they are to apprize the Chinese authorities, "who will proceed to seize and confiscate all goods, whatever

their value or nature, that may have been so smuggled;" and will, likewise, "be at liberty to prohibit the vessel from which the smuggled goods were landed from trading further, and to send her away, as soon as her accounts are adjusted and paid." All Chinese subjects, whether custom-house officers or others, who may be discovered to be concerned in smuggling, are, by this article, to be punished as the Chinese authorities shall think fit.

Art. XIII. provides for all persons, whether native of China or otherwise, conveying goods to Hong Kong for sale, on obtaining a pass or port-clearance from one of the five ports named in Art. I., and paying the duties agreeably to the tariff on such goods. It also provides for natives of China repairing to Hong Kong to purchase goods, and for their obtaining a pass from the Custom-house of one of the five ports, should they require a Chinese vessel to carry away their purchases. These passes to be restored at the expiration of each trip.

Art. XIV. provides for an officer of the British Government examining the registers and passes of all Chinese vessels visiting Hong Kong to buy or sell goods; and, for any vessel which may not have a register or pass, being "considered an unauthorized or smuggling vessel," and not being allowed to trade. "By this arrangement, it is to be hoped that piracy and illegal traffic will be effectually prevented."

Art. XV. provides for debts, incurred by Chinese dealers or merchants at Hong Kong, being recovered through the English courts of justice. Should the debtor fly from Hong Kong to the Chinese territory, and be known or found to have property, real or personal, the fourth clause of the general regulations will be applicable to the case, on application being made by the consul. In like manner, should a British merchant incur debts at any of the five ports, and fly to Hong Kong, the British authorities will, on receiving an application from the Chinese officers, institute an investigation into the claims, and, when established, oblige the defaulter or debtor to settle them, to the utmost of his means.

Art. XVI. provides for a monthly return of passes granted to Chinese vessels to visit Hong Kong, being furnished to the British

officer referred to in Article XIV., by the hoppo of Canton, and for a similar return being made by the said officer.

Art. XVII., also termed "Additional Article," provides for all cutters, schooners, lorchas, and such small vessels that ply between Canton and Hong Kong, or between Canton and Macao, passing, as they have hitherto done, free of all port charges, if they only carry passengers, letters, or baggage; but if they carry any dutyable articles, however small the quantity, they are to pay tonnage dues at the rate of one mace per ton register. This article further provides for the smallest of such vessels being considered to be seventy-five tons burden, and the largest one hundred and fifty tons burden, beyond which last size they are to be classed as foreign ships, and to be charged tonnage dues according to Article V. of the general regulations.

The following three rules were further laid down in this article, which is only applicable to the port of Canton, for the guidance of these small vessels.

1st. "Every British schooner, cutter, lorcha, &c. shall have a sailing-letter or register, in Chinese and English, under the seal and signature of the chief superintendent of trade, describing her appearance, burden," &c.

2nd. "Every schooner, cutter, lorcha, and such vessels, shall report herself as large vessels are required to do at the Bocca Tigris; and when she carries cargo she shall also report herself at Whampoa, and, on reaching Canton, deliver up her sailing-letter or register to the British Consul, who will obtain permission from the hoppo for her to discharge her cargo, which she is not to do without such permission, under the forfeiture of the penalties laid down in the third clause of the general regulations."

3rd. "When the inward cargo is discharged, and an outward one (if intended) taken on board, and the duties on both arranged and paid, the consul will restore the register or sailing-letter, and allow the vessel to depart."

THE END.

F. Shoberl, Jun., Printer to H. R. H. Prince Albert, 51, Rupert Street, Haymarket, London.

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